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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Hungarian Official Assesses 'Open Skies' Talks *[MTI]* 1
New Proposal Offered at Disarmament Talks *[MTI]* 1

ALBANIA

Carcani Participates in Discussion on Economy *[ZERI I POPULLIT 17 Feb]* 2
Media Coverage on Kosovo Viewed as Changing *[BASHKIMI 22 Feb]* 7
Serbo-Croatian Political Jargon Criticized *[BASHKIMI 19 Feb]* 8
Trade Protocol With SFRY Signed in Tirana *[ATA]* 8
Economic Progress Report for 18-24 Feb *[Tirana Radio]* 8

BULGARIA

BCP Announces 1 Mar 'All-City' Meeting *[Sofia Radio]* 9
National Assembly Discusses Various Issues 9
Industrial Disputes Bill *[BTA]* 9
Political Parties *[BTA]* 9
Commission on Ownership Bills *[BTA]* 9
Commissions on Constitution *[Sofia Radio]* 10
View Changes to Constitution *[Sofia Radio]* 10
More on Draft Constitutional Amendments *[BTA]* 10
Independent Trade Unions Hold Congress 11
Petkov Speaks at Opening *[Sofia Radio]* 11
Further on Proceedings *[BTA]* 12
Independent Confederation Founded *[BTA]* 13
Confederation Elects Leaders *[Sofia Radio]* 13
Congress Adopts Decisions *[BTA]* 13
UK Deputy Foreign Secretary Waldgrave Visits 14
Arrival Noted *[Sofia Radio]* 14
Statement on Visit *[Sofia Radio]* 14
Meets Foreign Minister Dimitrov *[Sofia Radio]* 14
Holds Talks at Foreign Ministry *[BTA]* 14
Received by Lukanov *[BTA]* 15
Meets BZNS, SDS Officials *[BTA]* 15
Welcomes Changes in Bulgaria *[BTA]* 15
Ends Visit, Makes Statement *[Sofia Radio]* 16
European Council Leader Bjorck Visits *[BTA]* 16
Meetings, Remarks Noted *[BTA]* 17

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Havel's USSR Trip Ends; Communique Issued 18
Meets Soviet Politicians, 'Democrats' *[CTK]* 18
'Comfortable' With Soviet Cultural Figures *[Prague Radio]* 18
Arrives in Prague *[Prague TV]* 18
Dienstbier: Soviets Understood Need for 'Regrets' *[CTK]* 18
Interior Minister Meets With USSR Counterpart *[CTK]* 19
Havel's North America Visit Favorably Assessed *[Buschova in ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 24 Feb]* 19
Soviet Withdrawal Causing Local Problems *[Prague Radio]* 20

Dubcek Addresses Federal Assembly *[Prague Radio]* 20
Federal Assembly Passes New Election Law *[CTK]* 22
Army Association Alleges Election Discrimination *[Prague Radio]* 22
Poll Reports Public Enthusiasm for Elections *[RUDE PRAVO 24 Feb]* 22
Slovak Society Seeks Protection From Hungarians *[Bratislava PRAVDA 23 Feb]* 22
Calfa on Czech-Slovak Relations, Market Economy *[MLADA FRONTA 24 Feb]* 23
Pithart on Territorial Questions, Moravia *[LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE 23 Feb]* 23
State Bank Official Releases Debt Figures *[RUDE PRAVO 23 Feb]* 24
Minister Advocates Phasing Out Nuclear Power *[Vienna DIE PRESSE 27 Feb]* 25
Demonstrators Protest Kecerovce Nuclear Plant *[Bratislava PRAVDA 21 Feb]* 25
CPSL Executive Committee Meets in Bratislava *[Bratislava PRAVDA 24 Feb]* 25
Charter-77 for 'Regeneration of Civic Morality' *[CTK]* 26

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Chairwoman of Electoral Commission Elected *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 23 Feb]* 27
Commission Begins 2d Session *[ADN]* 27
Military Reform Roundtable Adopts Principles *[ADN]* 27
People's Chamber Presidium Discusses Agenda *[ADN]* 27
SPD's Boehme Discusses Plans for Government *[East Berlin TV]* 27
SPD Deputy Plans Withdrawal From Protests *[East Berlin Radio]* 28
Republicans Say District Association Formed *[Hamburg DPA]* 28
Interior Ministry Denial *[ADN]* 28
FRG Agriculture Minister Attends DSU Rally *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 21 Feb]* 29
FRG Politicians Address Election Rallies *[ADN]* 29
DSU Contests Election Law *[Hamburg DIE WELT 27 Feb]* 29
Democratic Awakening Chairman Criticizes SPD *[ADN]* 30
Urges Zero Option *[ADN]* 30
Christian League Forms, Elects Officials *[ADN]* 30
Party Youth Groups Form Action 'Ring' *[ADN]* 30
DBD Chairman Addresses Election Conference *[ADN]* 30
Berlin FDP Rejects League of Free Democrats *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 19 Feb]* 31
Independent Social Democratic Party Forms *[BERLINER ZEITUNG 19 Feb]* 31
NDPD Presents Election Platform *[ADN]* 31
Peasant Party Makes Election Broadcast *[East Berlin TV]* 31
Free Democratic Party Presents Program *[East Berlin TV]* 32
Democracy Now Spokesman Discusses Policies *[Hamburg BILD 16 Feb]* 33
German Forum Party Supports Election Alliance *[BERLINER ZEITUNG 20 Feb]* 34
FRG's Suessmuth Addresses CDU Rally *[NEUE ZEIT 23 Feb]* 34
PDS Hopes for More Than 10 Percent of Vote *[Hamburg DPA]* 34
Ecological-Democratic Party Established *[ADN]* 35
Minister Discusses All-German 'Green Table' *[ADN]* 35
National Greenpeace Chapter Established *[ADN]* 35
Environment Minister on 'Environmental Time Bomb' *[Hamburg BILD 26 Feb]* 35
Joint Environmental Commission Meets in Bonn *[ADN]* 35
Gysi Meets FRG Greens' Vollmer *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 23 Feb]* 36
Modrow Meets FRG Greens' Leader *[ADN]* 36
Greifswald Nuclear Power Plant Shut Down *[ADN]* 36
'Not Seriously Compromised' *[ADN]* 36
Further on Plant *[FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU 17 Feb]* 36
Safety Issues Noted *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 17-18 Feb]* 37
Damage in Plant Noted *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 21 Feb]* 37
Block 3 Shutting Down *[ADN]* 37
Unemployment Problem in Berlin Rising *[BERLINER ZEITUNG 17-18 Feb]* 38
Association of Unemployed To Be Established *[BERLINER ALLGEMEINE 16 Feb]* 38
70,000 Registered *[BERLINER ALLGEMEINE 23 Feb]* 38
GNP Hits 353 Billion Marks in 1989 *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 24-25 Feb]* 38
New Forum Favors Removal of Food Subsidies *[ADN]* 38
Government Spokesman on Savings Accounts *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 16 Feb]* 39
Jewish Official on Situation of Jews *[BERLINER ALLGEMEINE 20 Feb]* 39
More Right-Wing Extremist Activities Noted *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 21 Feb]* 40

Mielke Order on Elections Discovered *[BERLINER ZEITUNG 14 Feb]* 40
Former Berlin Mayor on Reason for Resignation *[ADN]* 41
Investigation of October 1989 Events Proceeds *[ADN]* 41
Rallies for Unification in Karl-Marx-Stadt *[BERLINER ZEITUNG 20 Feb]* 41
Policemen Demonstrate for Trade Union Law *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 15 Feb]* 41
Further on Peoples' Chamber Session *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 22 Feb]* 41
Council of Ministers Resolution on Draft *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 16 Feb]* 42
Further on Council *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 23 Feb]* 42
Number of Border Troops Decreases *[ADN]* 42
Details of Arms Exports Discussed *[HORIZONT No. 2]* 43
Social Democratic Paper Published in Leipzig *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 19 Feb]* 44
Citizens Abroad Entitled To Vote in Elections *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 21 Feb]* 44
Media Control Council Resists TV Changes *[ADN]* 45
Fischer Receives PLO's Qaddumi During Visit *[ADN]* 45
Modrow Meets PLO Member *[ADN]* 45
Official Discusses Relations With EC *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 22 Feb]* 45
Leaders Meet With Council of Europe Official *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 23 Feb]* 46
Spokesman Addresses UN Drug Conference *[NEUE ZEIT 23 Feb]* 46
Open Human Rights Policy Advocated *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 15 Feb]* 47
DKP Members Received Military Training *[ADN]* 47
Vigil Held for Return of DPRK Students *[ADN]* 47

HUNGARY

Szokai on Romanian Book Restrictions *[Budapest TV]* 48
Trade, Cooperation Talks Held With Romania *[MTI]* 48
Defense Minister Leaves for Romania *[Budapest TV]* 48
Warning Issued About Campaign in Slovak Press *[Budapest Radio]* 49
USSR Troop Pullout Might Finish by 1991 *[Budapest Radio]* 49
Social Democrats Leader Holds Talks in Vienna *[MTI]* 49
National Assembly Session Opens *[MTI]* 49
Bill on Minorities Submitted *[Budapest Radio]* 49
Minorities Issues Debated *[MTI]* 51
On Constitutional Changes *[MTI]* 52
Proposal on Presidency *[Budapest Radio]* 52
Further on Presidential Role *[MTI]* 54
Session Continues *[MTI]* 54
Ikarusz Workers Demonstrate at Parliament *[Budapest Radio]* 54
Pozsgay Discusses Election Campaign *[FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE 27 Feb]* 55
Szuros Meets With Party Chairmen *[MTI]* 56
Meets Party Representatives *[MTI]* 56

POLAND

Diplomatic Ties With Israel Reestablished *[PAP]* 57
Skubiszewski, Arens Views *[Warsaw Radio]* 57
Later Skubiszewski Statement *[Warsaw TV]* 57
Warsaw University Demonstration on Party Property *[Warsaw Radio]* 57
Mazowiecki Letter Delivered to White House *[PAP]* 57
Mazowiecki's Address to London Poles Reported *[TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY 25 Feb]* 57
Balcerowicz Defends Government Economic Program *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 19 Feb]* 58
Fate of Former PZPR Leaders Revealed *[Rudnicki in TRYBUNA 20 Feb]* 61
Independent Gdansk Daily Newspaper Launched *[PAP]* 62
Statistics Released on HIV Virus Carriers *[Warsaw Radio]* 62

ROMANIA

Interview With Defense Minister Stanculescu *[ADEVARUL 18 Feb]* 63
Stanculescu Proclaims Securitate 'Neutralized' *[Bucharest Radio]* 64
Reveals Former Composition *[Bucharest Radio]* 65
Stanculescu: No Interference With Demonstrators *[ROMPRES]* 65

Interview With Chitac on Role of Army, Police *[AFP]* 66
Nicu Ceausescu Views Former Regime's Mistakes *[AFP]* 66
Daily Lists Profiles of Government Ministers *[ADEVARUL 10, 11, 16 Jan]* 66
Daily Against Full Privatization of Agriculture *[ROMPRES]* 67
Brasov Weekly GINDUL LIBER Published *[ROMPRES]* 67
Students Weekly BUNA ZIUA Published *[ROMPRES]* 67
First Private Weekly OBSERVATOR Published *[ROMPRES]* 68
National Democratic Party Issues New Magazine *[ROMPRES]* 68
Liberal Party Leader on Government, Elections *[ROMPRES]* 68
Minorities Present PNUC With Declaration *[ROMPRES]* 68
Party of Romanian Freedom and Democracy Formed *[ROMPRES]* 69
Democratic Labor Party on Platform Principles *[ROMPRES]* 69
Liberal Socialist Party Calls Miners NSF Tool *[ROMPRES]* 69
Agrarian Democratic Party Outlines Objectives *[ROMPRES]* 70
Opposition Leader on Council Participation *[AFP]* 70
* Paler, Brucan on Role of Front, Protests 71
* New Dictatorship Feared *[ROMANIA LIBERA 31 Jan]* 71
* Need for Calm Cited *[ROMANIA LIBERA 2 Feb]* 73
* Immediate Presidential Elections Urged *[ADEVARUL 31 Jan]* 74

YUGOSLAVIA

Pristina Students Repeat Demand for Democracy *[Pristina Radio]* 76
25 Feb Disturbances Assessed *[Pristina Radio]* 76
Over 2,000 Schoolchildren at Protest *[TANJUG]* 76
Albanian Demonstration Prevented in Sibenik *[TANJUG]* 76
Roundup on Latest Events in Kosovo *[TANJUG]* 76
'Most' Collectives Resume Production *[TANJUG]* 77
Leaders of Pristina Protests Reportedly Paid *[POLITIKA 12 Feb]* 78
Committee for Albanians' Return to Kosovo *[TANJUG]* 78
Foreign Secretariat on Asylum, Citizenship *[TANJUG]* 78
Kosovo Assembly Session Proceedings *[TANJUG]* 78
Drnovsek, Milosevic, Pancevski Policies Viewed *[Volfand in DELO 9 Feb]* 79
Commentary on Simic, Pancevski, New Party *[Jez in DELO]* 80
Slovene Opposition Questions Talks With Serbia *[DELO 7 Feb]* 81
Croatian Republic To Hold Elections 22 April *[TANJUG]* 81
Dailies View Serbian, Croat Parties *[BORBA 10 Jan, etc.]* 82
Kucan Assesses LCY's Role *[TANJUG]* 83
Speaks on Party, Secession *[Belgrade Radio]* 84
Bosnia-Hercegovina Defense Faces Cuts *[TANJUG]* 84
Increased Military Authority on Border Proposed *[BORBA 20 Feb]* 85
Trade Protocol Signed With Albania *[TANJUG]* 85
Deputy Secretary of State Eagleburger Visits 85
Talks With Markovic on Economics *[TANJUG]* 85
Received by Serbian President *[TANJUG]* 86
Ends Talks, Leaves *[TANJUG]* 86
Pregl Concludes Visit to Washington *[BORBA 24-25 Feb]* 86
Presidency on Premier, NAM, Europe *[TANJUG]* 87
Loncar on Talks With Spanish Counterpart *[TANJUG]* 87

Hungarian Official Assesses 'Open Skies' Talks

LD2802102690 Budapest MTI in English 0855 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Ottawa, February 28 (MTI)—The 'Open Skies' agreement is due to by signed by the foreign ministers of NATO and WT [Warsaw Treaty] member states in Budapest in May.

The first phase of the conference dealing with the contract drew to an end in Ottawa on Tuesday [27 February]. An agreement was reached in Ottawa to stage the second phase of the conference in Budapest between April 23 and May 12.

Tibor Toth, deputy head of department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and leader of the Hungarian delegation, had the following comment to make to MTI's correspondent:

The agreement would allow countries of the two military alliances to make mutual surveillance flights, with no weapons on board, over each other's territory. While there is agreement in principle, positions still differ on some major practical points, especially on the Soviet side.

The Soviet Union requests that the planes doing the monitoring flights over the particular country should belong to that country, but with a foreign crew on board. Furthermore, the Soviet Union would impose more restrictions on flights over its territory than other countries, and would also want monitoring to extend to the foreign bases of the participating countries, including U.S. bases in Asia. This request has been turned down by Washington.

Another open question concerns the type and performance of the instruments used for monitoring, and whether the data obtained should be generally available, (as requested by the Soviet Union).

In view of the complexity of the questions involved, the progress reached during the course of the short three weeks should not be undervalued, stresses Mr Toth, who considers Western press opinion which overrates the difficulties met during the conference pessimistic without a cause.

The Hungarian standpoint is that the meetings between the two alliance systems should help eliminate division, in other words, should reach an agreement not between blocs but 23 countries. 'It is to be hoped that Hungary will also be able to play a part in other projects connected with the contract. A permanent consultative committee which is likely to be set up could be based in Budapest,' said the leader of the Hungarian delegation.

New Proposal Offered at Disarmament Talks

LD2202225190 Budapest MTI in English 2125 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Vienna February 22 (MTI)—The agreement to be concluded on the reduction and limitation of conventional forces in Europe should be based on the obligations of the particular countries rather than those of the two military blocs. This is the essence of the Hungarian proposal put forward by Ambassador David Meiszter to the plenary session of the Vienna talks on disarmament of 23 Warsaw Treat and NATO member states.

The head of the Hungarian delegation pointed out that the security system established after the second world war and based on mutual deterrent had become obsolete and ineffective by now.

Referring to the reunification of Germany, the Hungarian diplomat pointed out that the dramatic changes taking place in Europe make it indispensable to establish a security system based on cooperation between the States. It is very important that the agreement to be concluded in Vienna should be adjustable to the changing world, including the possibility of dissolving the military blocs.

Mr Meiszter said the agreement can only attain this aim if it breaks once and for all with the approach based on military blocs, and focusses on the national rights and obligations.

The new requirements call for major modifications in the former conceptions. These modifications, however, should not prevent the agreement from being signed this year and implemented quickly. For this reason, the Hungarian delegation makes again an indepenent initiative. According to the Hungarian position, the size of national armed forces should be made the decisive element of the agreement. The ideas that the agreement would contain only the aggregate upper limit of the armed forces of the states belonging to the same alliance system should be modified. Since the proposal is not opposing the former conception, it does not disturb the talks. On the contrary, it makes an essential contribution to the agreement reflecting the new conditions emerging in Europe.

Carcani Participates in Discussion on Economy

AU2402140590 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 17 Feb 90 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "The Line of the Masses—The Basis for the Further Democratization of the Country's Entire Life"—"First Discussion in the Cycle 'Faced With the Decision of the Ninth Plenum,' Broadcast Last Evening by Our Television"]

[Text] Our television began airing last night the cycle of discussions "Faced With the Decisions of the Ninth Albanian Workers Party [AWP] Plenum," with the participation of Comrade Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, workers, cooperative members, specialists, and state and economic cadres. Among those who participated in the discussion were: Kristaq Prifti, Hero of Socialist Labor at the "Steel of the Party" Metallurgical Combine in Elbasan; Ilir Xholi, team leader in Maqellare; Rexhep Gjerica, worker in the "Enver Hoxha" Automobile and Tractor Combine; Gaqo Pelteku, Hero of Socialist Labor and director of the Mborje-Drenove coalmine; Liri Ymeri, directoress of the Shkoder knitwear factory; Hysen Meta, chairman of the Pajove agricultural cooperative in Elbasan; Aleks Nashi, director of the Lushnje Motor Tractor Station; Luan Pustina, Ministry of Agriculture economist; Edlira Husha and Rezarta Kushi, student at the Economics Faculty of the "Enver Hoxha" Tirana University; Bashkim Sykja and Kosta Kallojeri, chairmen of the Shkoder and Sarande executive committees, respectively; Sadri Rrahmani, in charge of the economic section of ZERI I POPULLIT; and Bajram Hoxha, in charge of the economic section of our television.

Having met and cordially greeted the participants, Comrade Adil Carcani inquired after their work and achievements, particularly in the days since the ninth AWP Central Committee plenum, and then opened the discussion:

We are meeting to discuss and exchange opinions on the great importance of the decisions of the ninth AWP Central Committee decisions. As you know, all the people have acquainted themselves with these decisions. More than that, they have studied them, because these decisions affect all the working people in all sectors of the economy and culture. They are of considerable importance for both the present and the future. By exchanging opinions here, we can also contribute toward better understanding, elaborating and implementing these decisions.

Relying on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and Comrade Enver Hoxha throughout its history, during the struggle for national liberation and the establishment of the people's authority in the past, as well as now in the construction of socialism, the defense of the victories attained and of the country's freedom and independence, the party has always considered the role of the masses to be the decisive factor in the development of every aspect of national life. Particularly now, when our economy has entered the stage of its intensive development and when international events are evolving rapidly, the need for suitable changes in the mechanisms of this development to further elevate the role of the masses as the primary driving force of our society has become imperative, both logically and dialectically. All the measures defined in the important decision of the ninth AWP Central Committee plenum, whose fundamental idea is the deepening of the line of the masses, and which constitutes the essence of socialist democracy, serve this purpose and are permeated by this spirit.

The holding of open meetings of the basic party organizations, as determined by the plenum, will strengthen their links with the masses, as well as the dual control of efficiency of the work by Communists, that is, the control of the organization itself and that of the masses. The participation of nonparty working people in the meetings of the basic party organizations is not merely an organizational measure, but also has profound ideological content.

The extension of the principle of selecting managers of enterprises, factories, of institutes and institutions, schools, and so forth, by the working collectives, will enable the masses to freely express their opinion about those whom they elect to lead them, thus strengthening our socialist democracy.

The presentation of more than one alternative candidacy in the election of cadres in various party, state, and other organs, together with the widespread use of competition as a way of appointing cadres and specialists, particularly in cultural, scientific, educational, and other such institutions, also represent important and profound measures to strengthen democracy. The limitation of the mandate of cadres will prevent their becoming complacent about the state of affairs in their working centers and will open the way to the constant rejuvenation of cadres with new, talented, and capable elements.

These measures, which are part of the decision of the ninth AWP Central Committee plenum, will obviously strengthen democracy, encourage initiative, and stimulate the thinking of the working people and their confidence in the correctness of the party's line. They will also bar the way to favoritism and unjust intervention, which appear in one form or another in particular cases.

What is important now is that the measures adopted by the ninth AWP Central Committee plenum should be profoundly understood, primarily politically and ideologically, and that the party and its instruments should explain and elaborate them clearly in factories, brigades, production units, and even in families, in close contact with the masses by every cadre and specialist. It is also important that all the tasks stipulated by the ninth plenum be implemented rapidly and creatively, with a new method and working style by the party, state, and economic organs at the center and at the base, with a new

rhythm and discipline at work, and in conformity with the nature and importance of the tasks set out by the plenum.

In implementing the ninth AWP Central Committee plenum's decisions, we will also be faced with outdated management concepts and practices, as well as by manifestations of bureaucracy and liberalism. The party, state, and economic organs at the center and at the base must ensure that they combat such manifestations by applying the line of the masses. This is the only way to combat bureaucracy, which represents a great and continuous danger to the revolutionization and further democratization of national life.

Bajram Hoxha: Comrade Adil, could you tell us what is the essence of the plenum's decisions pertaining to the deepening and application of the line of the masses in the economy?

Adil Carcani: The further deepening of the line of the masses in the economy represents a broad front and various directions, beginning with the drafting and implementation of plans and going on to the refinement of managerial methods and economic mechanisms. A great deal of experience has already been gained in this regard, but it is not complete and is at times hindered by manifestations of bureaucracy on the part of state organs, and by a lack of appreciation of the role of the masses. Hundreds of thousands of people discussed the plan following the approval of the general guidelines by superior organs. However, a number of the proposals made by the workers are not properly and fully reflected in the plan, and it is precisely these that cause "bother" to some managers and administrations. The decisions of the ninth plenum, which are inspired by the line of the masses, require that an end be put to this practice and that the masses themselves should insist that their valuable suggestions be reflected in the state's economic plan. In addition, the relevant state and economic organs at the base, and particularly at the center, in the various departments, the State Planning Commission, and even the Council of Ministers should clarify and account for all the suggestions made, and their incorporation into the plans of enterprises, branches, and various sectors of the economy and culture.

This also applies at the implementation stage. We must address ourselves to the opinions of the workers about everything, because in this way they can make suggestions and help find efficient solutions. The same thing also applies to the elaboration and application of decisions. It is absolutely necessary to draw on the opinion of the masses with regard to all important and mandatory decisions adopted by the higher organs, including the Council of Ministers.

Bashkim Sykja: Following the plenum's decisions, 60 citizens in Koplik applied for permission to build new houses. Whereas previously the bureaucratic procedures of the executive committee and the urban planning bureau would have hampered matters, after the directions of the ninth plenum and the relevant government decision, the matter was settled immediately. The urban planning bureau defined the construction site in Koplik and a new estate of 60 houses is now planned, while the construction and communal enterprises will provide the materials.

Aleks Nashi: I would like to stress something about piece work. On 10 January, we sent 10 tractors to be repaired. On the basis of the old norms, this would have taken a total of 42 days. By handing over these tractors to the mechanics on a piece-work basis, the work was completed 12 days earlier. We have introduced these norms of work in other sections.

Kosta Kallojeri: We have set up seven economic units operating on the basis of internal accountability (hozrashot), in addition to those already existing in the agricultural enterprises. We are now faced with a number of problems that need to be better examined and resolved, but the central departments and the government are also faced with problems. At the moment, the net income of enterprises goes almost entirely into the budget. This lessens the interest of the collective. The situation must therefore be remedied by applying the decision of the ninth AWP Central Committee plenum to the effect that the collective operating on the basis of internal accountability be independent so that the profit, or a considerable part of it, be left to the competence of the collective itself, which will secure its own expanded socialist reproduction.

What is of considerable importance is that the people and the cadres themselves appreciate these forms of organization. We set up a micro-internal accountability (mikrohozrashot) section in the public catering sector in Lukove, which includes a small collective of 15-16 people. During the past two months since it began operating, particularly since the ninth plenum, the plan is being fulfilled by 140 percent. The workers have an extraordinary interest in it, because they themselves are earning 100-180 leks more a month.

Adil Carcani: You have done very well and this is a specific application of the tasks set out by the ninth plenum to consolidate the internal accountability system. The consolidation of the system of management on the basis of the enterprises' independent accountability supports the initiative of the masses and deepens the line of the masses. Complete internal accountability, which has not been fully implemented so far, requires that the relative economic independence of the enterprise should not be limited merely to covering expenditure with income. It should also take upon itself the task of securing extended reproduction by increasing production and its net income, improving quality through reconstruction and the introduction of new technologies, which until now have been financed by the state. The correct and full application of internal accountability will also lead to the avoidance of subsidies.

The fundamental idea of the measures that the party wants us to study and to adopt in this context is to raise the sense of responsibility of enterprise managers and of every individual concerning production and its efficiency, to better harmonize the interests of the individual, on the one hand, and those of the collective and society, on the other, and to raise the interest of the enterprises and of the collectives in the results of production. In this context, the improvements suggested by the ninth plenum in the salary sphere will also play a stimulating role, with the aim, among other things, that the wages of the workers be formed not only on the basis of the fulfillment of norms and of the quantity and quality of production, but also on the basis of the final results of a given unit, factory, or enterprise.

These measures are intended to place the method of economic logic at the base of economic management, everywhere and at all levels, as Comrade Ramiz Alia has been constantly urging us, and not through commands and administrative measures, which atrophy the initiative of the masses and the independent action of the base.

Sadri Rrahmani: What the comrades have told us is related to an important aspect of the plenum's decisions, to the question of economic mechanisms and instruments. However, as you pointed out, Comrade Adil, the plenum's decisions cover a broad sphere. Could you tell us something about the essence of the plenum's decision—more specifically, about the question of competences.

Adil Carcani: As is known, the basic principle of our country's economic and social development is that of democratic centralism, which stands now and will stand forever. Currently, however, in the stage of this intensive economic development, all the possibilities and opportunities exist there at the base—where there are numerous talented and educated specialists and cadres trained by the party—for the various enterprises and institutions to engage in their own planning and to resolve numerous problems pertaining to the economy and culture, a task that is currently performed by the central state and economic organs at a higher level, which means excessive centralism. It is neither correct nor dialectical for the central economic and state organs, the ministries and other central institutions, the State Planning Commissions, or sometimes the district executive committees, with regard to the enterprises and products that are subordinated to them, to engage in such a planning methodology, because this implies a mistrust of the base and hinders development, progress, and the initiative of the masses. Despite a number of improvements in the sphere of planning methodology, plan implementation, the formation of prices, and so forth, especially following the seventh and eighth AWP Central Committee plenums, these are insufficient. What is needed is a more qualitative change in the management of affairs at the base, and an elevation of its thinking and initiative. Thus, in the context of implementing this instruction and the decision of the ninth AWP Central Committee plenum, we are once again reviewing the broader competences to be given to the base.

Bashkim Sykja: I think that it is unnecessary to determine the number of workers that an enterprise should have. It is sufficient to plan its wage fund and the number of people working in the administration, but the enterprise itself should determine the number of workers that it needs. I would also say that the final control of the wages fund be carried out annually.

Adil Carcani: What you are saying, Comrade Bashkim, is correct. Enterprises must not be placed in difficulty concerning the development of and increase in production because of administrative methods in controlling the wage fund. This control is essential, but should not be a brake to increased production, construction, and so forth. It should be possible, for example, to operate in other sectors in the same way as has been determined in the agricultural sector, so that wage control is progressively annual (vjetor progresiv). Suggestions on this problem are included in the general studies carried out with regard to refining economic management, and these will be examined shortly.

In this connection and more generally in connection with the extension of competences for the base, it would be good for the enterprises themselves to determine some major indicators and products which they would have to fulfill in a mandatory way, while leaving them with a wide operating margin to enable them to produce additional commodities in agreement with trade enterprises and on the basis of contracts stipulating mutual conditions and sanctions. This will increase the enterprises' interest in better meeting the demands of the population and simultaneously increase its own income.

Democratic centralism will thus not be affected, only excessive centralism, which must be checked, and the line of the masses in the economy would be better applied, both at the planning and implementation stage, and the relationship between supply and demand would be improved on the basis of the law of value, which operates also in socialism.

Gaqo Pelteku: For the sake of the planned level of labor productivity, enterprises tend to go for those products that require more materialized labor and less manpower. This acts as a brake, particularly in the case of those enterprises producing consumer commodities and small items. Therefore, according to the specific conditions of those enterprises which are dealing directly with supplies for the population, I think that productivity planning should be left to them, without affecting the general economic and financial indicators.

Adil Carcani: Yes, it is necessary for the specific conditions of various enterprises, branches, and sectors to be reflected in the respective methodologies. However, it should be possible to find ways of doing things which,

according to the specific conditions of enterprises, would not burden the planned profitability of these enterprises or branches.

The "Stalin" textile combine, for example, has a large number of workers, many of limited capability, who find it difficult to meet the labor productivity targets of the weaving and spinning machines, and so forth. The technological processes in this combine create a lot of waste. A good effort is being made to utilize this waste material, but more could be done still by using these workers to extend the range of products from such waste material, at a particular level of productivity, in order to transform this waste into greater material and financial assets. The labor productivity target of the combine would thus remain unaffected, its income would be raised, and the demands of the population would be better fulfilled. This is also what you have done, Comrade Gaqo, at the mine where you work, creating ancillary economies by activating those workers of more limited ability, but at a different level of profitability. However, other ways must also be found in this direction. One thing must be born well in mind, though, and that is that regardless of the problems of a social nature that it creates, as I have already stressed, and which must be resolved, the problem of increased labor productivity remains a characteristic and an imperative in the construction of socialism.

Liri Ymeri: In the textile-knitwear factories in Shkoder, too, Comrade Adil, we are applying a number of ways of remuneration, within the wage fund. Specifically, we are applying the advanced front (frontin avanc) system in the weaving section. Workers who operate the two weaving machines of an absent colleague are remunerated at 100 percent of the wage due to them for the increased production, instead of 20-30 percent, as was the case until now. The results of this form of remuneration are obvious in the utilization of the machinery and increased production.

Bashkim Sykja: Considering the urgent need for an extension of the trade network, recreational environments for young people, sport grounds, and so forth, in the city of Shkoder, we have been using for this purpose a proportion of the (?excess funds) (fondeve nen limit), making up a total of 1.5 million leks, previously allocated for undecided purposes or for projects that can be delayed.

Adil Carcani: You do have the opportunity of doing this as a result of the extended competences granted to the base, certainly on the basis of economic arguments and efficiency. This will enable those departments that were until now responsible for such matters to provide more qualified assistance to the districts and to study and resolve more important problems, for the present and the future, problems which also affect a number of other questions, thus avoiding routine and rather unproductive work. This also requires that they should review and refine their organizational structures and reduce their staffing, which has increased a lot, and so forth. In other words, they are to provide more qualified assistance and have more confidence in the base, in the mass of the working people.

Hysen Meta: Elbasan District was the first to carry out planning on the basis of broader competences for the base. We in Pajove, which you have also visited, Comrade Adil, are certainly enjoying the results of this measure. When the masses express their opinions and when they themselves set out the tasks, their sense of responsibility is also raised by the fulfillment of these tasks.

Edlira Husha: A sound economy naturally requires able economists who are trained by the Economics Faculty. However, with regard to appointments, there is no mechanism to stimulate the students to attain high results while still studying.

Adil Carcani: The question that you are raising must be examined. However, with regard to the appointment of students after they complete their studies, this is a matter for the youth organization. How is this applied in your faculty?

Rezarta Kushi: The majority of students have gone wherever they have been appointed by the youth organization, but there have also been changes in such appointments.

Adil Carcani: This must not happen. I have the decision adopted recently by the AWP Central Committee Secretariat about this matter. I would like to read out passage from this decision: "Concerning the appointment of students who have graduated from the University or other higher schools; the decision of the youth organizations, adopted after a collective discussion, must be considered final. Should the state organs have some remarks to make on a specific case, they must notify the youth organization concerned within 10 days and provide convincing arguments, otherwise the original decision of the youth organization stands." Thus, this is once again a confirmation of the application of the line of the masses, in this case, listening to the voice of the youth with regard to graduates, where they are to go and where they are to be appointed, in conformity with the established criteria.

Bajram Hoxha: What measures are being adopted in the sphere of perfecting control?

Adil Carcani: The strengthening of control by the masses, and primarily the strengthening of workers' control, is of extraordinary and vital importance in the struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism. Comrade Adil stressed this forcefully once again at the meeting of the General Council of Trade Unions. The ninth AWP Central Committee plenum decided that workers' control must be transformed into a genuine revolutionizing force, by immediately abolishing those formal limitations and so-called regulations that hinder the workers class from exercising its comprehensive control with full authority and decisive nature.

However, in addition to the consolidation of workers control, a greater degree of activation is also needed by all forms of state control, particularly internal economic and financial control within the enterprises themselves, which must not merely evidence but also prevent any activity that is against the regulations and the norms of our society, activating the working masses in every enterprise. The type of control involving dozens and hundreds of people is more effective than the control carried out by a few auditors. Only the type of control that draws on the thinking of the masses can raise public opinion and remedy shortcomings.

Kosta Kallojeri: The ninth plenum set out a number of tasks concerning supplies. Until two years ago, the milk processing plant produced not one single kilogram of meat. Last year we produced 900 quintals of pork. A discussion took place with the workers following the ninth plenum, and we have decided to produce 1,500 quintals of pork this year. This will help directly in improving supplies of meat and other products for the population. The decision of the Council of Ministers on the improvement of meat supplies has also caused great interest. We have currently doubled the number of pigs at a district level and this is still being increased.

Adil Carcani: The increased production of consumer commodities and the market supply with agricultural and livestock products is constantly a matter of primary importance, but even more so under present circumstances.

In fact, following the decisions of the third, seventh, and eighth AWP Central Committee, there have been improvements in the supply of the population, particularly in the countryside, through the extension of the collective small herds and plots, but also in the cities. The experience of a number of districts such as in Sarande, Lushnje, Permet, Korce, and so forth, and as Comrade Bashkim pointed out, also Shkoder and Tirana (for some foodstuffs), shows that great possibilities exist for rapid improvements in the supplies for the population with foodstuffs, but also with industrial articles. We must constantly look to the masses in this question, to the organization of the work and to quicker actions by the state and economic organs, which must operate more deftly. Ways must be found at all times to stimulate production. One other way is to create ancillary agricultural economies in some enterprises, as is being done by the Mborje-Drenove mine. Other enterprises are also following this example, with the aim of securing adequate supplies of meat, milk, vegetables, and potatoes for their own restaurants. Other ways can be found. For example, agricultural economies can open shops in the cities in order to sell their surpluses directly, and so forth. Results are already obvious where this has been done.

Bashkim Sykja: Twelve shops have been opened in Shkoder, trading the surplus products of agricultural cooperatives. Six more units belonging to agricultural cooperatives in mountain regions will be opened soon.

Adil Carcani: There you are; this is one way of increasing supplies of meat, vegetables, fruit, and other articles for the population. However, increased production remains the main way and the agricultural and livestock sectors have a very important task to perform.

Increased production depends primarily on the rhythmical fulfillment of the planned indicators, utilizing all organizational, material, and technical possibilities, which are not inconsiderable. At the seventh plenum the party decided to reinforce the material base of agriculture. New tractors and other agricultural machinery arrived last year and more are coming this year. The supply of chemical fertilizer is being doubled through the construction of new plants. The main thing is to utilize this material base even better in order to increase agricultural and livestock products.

The problems pertaining to the supply of the population are sensitive. They are not mere economic problems, but also political, ideological, and social problems, and must therefore be understood as such and be given priority treatment.

Luan Pustina: The Marikaj brigade achieved a yield of 172 quintals of grapes per hectare this year, as against 152 quintals stipulated in the plan. The planned level of production cost per quintal was the equivalent of three working days, but the actual cost was equivalent to 2.3 working days. Under the new form of remuneration, this means an increase of 70,000 leks or 24 percent more. Other forms of remuneration based on results are being applied.

Kristaq Prifti: An innovation is made which increases production and productivity, but when it comes to remuneration there are bureaucratic obstacles, because it has to be approved by someone outside the enterprise, in a central department or even the prime minister's office. What happens is that the innovator becomes indifferent. Why should this matter not be decided within the enterprise itself?

Adil Carcani: Kristaq is right in raising the problem. Artificial obstacles of this kind are frequently raised by enterprise administrations, in executive committees, and central departments. The bureaucratic attitude of some cadres in these state organs are a reflection of disregard for the innovative movement. The ninth plenum insists that an end be put to such practices, which are also against the line of the masses. The trade unions, too, must take the matter in hand. This is also linked with the review of the remuneration for inventions and rationalizations, which has been under study.

Bajram Hoxha: Comrade Adil, could you tell us something about the directions given and decisions adopted by the Council of Ministers concerning the plenum's decisions?

Adil Carcani: The major conclusion drawn by the Council of Ministers following the decision of the ninth AWP Central Committee plenum and Comrade Ramiz

Alia's speech, is that the Council of Ministers, collegially, and every member of the government, individually, should radically change their method and style of work, tighten their links with the masses, and improve their work in providing guidance to the base, helping it resolve whatever problems are raised. This requires a heightened sense of responsibility on everyone's part in the implementation of the tasks that have been set out.

The Council of Ministers, other central departments and institutions, and district executive committees have set themselves the task of implementing the decisions of the ninth plenum. Some of the specific tasks concerning the criteria and conditions for elections, the time that cadres may remain in the same office, the extension of the system of competitions for the appointment of cadres, particularly in the sphberes of culture, education, science, and so forth, are being finalized and will be applied soon.

Other tasks pertaining to production, economic management, the independent accountability of enterprises, the refinement of the remuneration system, the adjustment of some prices for the delivery of agricultural and livestock products, wholesale prices, and so forth have been under study and presented for final examination and approval. The same applies to some changes needed in our legislation following the decisions of the ninth plenum. The Council of Ministers has decided that these will once again be subjected to public discussion and consultation with the masses, working people, cadres, and specialists of the relevant sectors, to draw on their ideas and to thus fully implement the line of the masses.

I would like to stress that it is the duty of every worker and citizen—and I appeal to them to participate in the discussion and to make as many suggestions as possible—to transform the meetings that will be held on these matters into tribunes of free and comprehensive discussion by the working people.

I consider the initiative of our radio-television to initiate this cycle of programs, which begins today, to be a valuable and necessary one. This will better acquaint the masses with the decisions of the ninth plenum and will help their elaboration for the good of the construction of socialism and the defense of the freedom and independence of our socialist country. It will help deepen the line of the masses and the further all-round development of democracy in every aspect of the country's life.

Media Coverage on Kosovo Viewed as Changing

AU2602192590 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 22 Feb 90 p 4

[Genc Kondi article: "Things Change..."]

[Text] In 1981, when the Albanian population of Kosovo took to the streets to demand their rights, there was very little international support. At that time, Slovenia and Croatia also joined the rest in denouncing the Albanians' "nationalist excesses." A great change was noticed in 1989, especially within Yugoslavia. Official and public opinion in the northern republics came out against the elimination of the province's autonomy as carried out by the ruling Greater Serbians. Now various nuances have also been noticed in the attitudes of the EEC or official U.S. circles, which have commented negatively on the use of the Serbian police against Albanians calling for a restoration of their autonomy, and have opposed the continuing repression by the Serbian state.

At one time the Soviet media not only used TANJUG reports to describe the tense situation in the province, but also employed official jargon, calling the Albanians "separatists," "irredentists," and so forth. This was a time when Gorbachev said in the Serbian Assembly that "there is a genetic affinity between every Russian and every Serb."

In recent days, the Soviet media have been very restrained in reporting events in Kosovo. In a 20 February report by TASS (the official news agency), we do not find the words "separatism" or "irredentism" used anywhere, although TANJUG, from whom the reports originate, makes an inflated use of these terms. Thus, there is a striking self-restraint in the Soviet media in this respect, reflecting the fact that, unlike before, there have been no open official statements in support of Milosevic and his friends.

Following the condemnation of the European Parliament, the EEC, and the FRG Government, and the expressions of concern made by many official personalities in Europe and the world at large, a massive contradiction is evident regarding the policies pursued by Belgrade toward the Albanians in Yugoslavia.

If it really were a matter of separatists, irredentists, or terrorists, there would be no such major contradiction, nor would there be if it were a matter of foreign interference in Yugoslavia's internal affairs. These two chief pillars of Belgrade's propaganda policy are tottering in the eyes of world opinion. Why is there no change, although the entire world is sympathetically watching calls for democracy, the Kosovars' basic demand?

This is because it is precisely democracy that the Greater Serbians are so afraid of, because in essence they have always been antidemocratic, autocratic, medieval, and dictatorial, and because their idea is that one people should rule "over all others." Other forces in history have nursed similar ideas, but everybody knows what end they came to. The supporters of the idea of Strong Serbia should realize that things change, and that their onward march will not meet with the same success as other campaigns have done in the past. Times change, and so do people and their mentality.

Serbo-Croatian Political Jargon Criticized

AU2302181890 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 19 Feb 90 p 4

[Qemal Sakajeva article: "The Serbo-Croatian of the Great Serbs—From the Speeches of Ranking Serbian Officials"]

[Text] It is not only police and weaponry that have been visited upon Kosovo. It has also been subjected to a hysterical political language of violence, humiliation, and contempt. The vocabulary of high Serbian officials is truly poverty-stricken. All their speeches at meetings in halls or at rallies in open squares, aimed at the Serbian, Yugoslav, and world public, are trying to define exactly what the Albanian people are. They have hunted down all the vocabulary of chauvinism in the dictionary and put it to use.

What do they call the Albanians in Kosovo?

—Nationalists.
—Separatists.
—Irredentists.
—Terrorists.
—Enemies.
—Counterrevolutionaries.
—The secret Mafia.
—Islamic fundamentalists.
—Those under arrest.
—Those sentenced.
—Convicts.
—Emigres.

And what steps do they take against them?

—Differentiation.
—Dismissal from work.
—Settling of accounts.
—Colonization.
—Torture.
—Beating.
—State of emergency.

Is that all? We almost forgot. Seeing as this is one of the most meager vocabularies of repression in the world, it has to be eked out with body language. This is where the truncheons and firearms come in. Thus, what we commonly see is:

Murder:

—With a bullet in the back of the neck.
—With a bullet on your own doorstep.

How miserable, barbaric, and medieval is the Serbo-Croatian of the Great Serbs today, just like that of Garasanin [Ilija Garasanin, 1812-1874, Serbian general and foreign minister], Cvijic [Jovan Cvijic, 1865-1927, geographer and ethnographer], and Cubrilovic [Vaso Cubrilovic, historian and advocate of the expulsion of ethnic Albanians to Turkey], down the centuries since Tsar Dusan! This is the language and armory of epithets with which they propose to enter "democratic dialogue" with the Albanians. But they cannot have two faces, one chauvinist, one democratic.

Trade Protocol With SFRY Signed in Tirana

AU2402134990 Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Tirana, February 24 (ATA)—The protocol on the exchange of goods for 1990 between the government of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania and the government of the SFR [Socialist Federative Republic] of Yugoslavia was signed in Tirana on February 23. For the Albanian side the protocol was signed by the deputy minister of foreign trade, Altin Ylli, and for the Yugoslav side by the federal undersecretary for foreign trade, George Hadjimihajlovic. The signing ceremony was attended by the members of the two delegations and the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SFR of Yugoslavia to the PSR of Albania, Novak Pribicevic.

The PSR of Albania will export to the SFR of Yugoslavia chrome ore and concentrate, ferrochrome, copper wires and cables, medical herbs, cognac, artistic handicrafts etc., and will import various steels, chemicals, synthetic yarns and fibres, mass consumer good etc.

On the same day, the minister of foreign trade, Shane Korbeci, received the federal undersecretary for foreign trade of the SFR of Yugoslavia, George Hadjimihajlovic. Attending the reception was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SFR of Yugoslavia to the PSR of Albania, Novak Pribicevic.

Upon its stay in our country the Yugoslav delegation visited socio-cultural objects in the districts of Kruje and Shkoder.

Economic Progress Report for 18-24 Feb

AU2402194590

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its transmissions between 18-24 February carries the following economic performance reports (time and date of transmission in parentheses):
Durres District: The general industrial production plan up to 10 February was overfulfilled by one percent. (1900 GMT 18 Feb 90)
Kolonje District: The industrial production plan up to 15 February was overfulfilled by 337,000 leks. (1900 GMT 19 Feb 90)
Lezhe District: The industrial production plan up to 15 February was exceeded by 1.5 million leks. (1900 GMT 20 Feb 90)
Puke District: The general industrial production plan has been fulfilled by 104.1 percent. (1900 GMT 21 Feb 90)
Tepelene District: The overall industrial plan was overfulfilled by one percent. (1900 GMT 19 Feb 90)

BCP Announces 1 Mar 'All-City' Meeting

AU2702192690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Here is an announcement: The Presidium of the Supreme Party Council of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and the municipal BCP councils in Sofia invite all Communists—young men and women, students and schoolchildren, workers, and members of the intelligentsia—and all people of like mind to attend an all-city meeting at 1800 on 1 March, one of the most beautiful traditional Bulgarian holidays, in the Vasil Levski National Stadium in Sofia.

The all-city meeting is called in support of a peaceful transition to free general elections, dialogue with all sociopolitical forces in the country, and national accord.

National Assembly Discusses Various Issues

Industrial Disputes Bill

AU2102143190 Sofia BTA in English 1302 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 21 (BTA)—At a joint session today, the National Assembly Standing Commission on Legislative Affairs and members of other parliamentary panels discussed an industrial disputes settlement bill, drafted on the basis of internationally recognised standards of labour legislation. The bill will go before parliament on March 5. Its underlying idea is to encourage the peaceful forms of dispute settlement: face-to-face negotiations, mediation by competent state bodies, arbitration etc.

Rallies, meetings and access to the media are allowed as a method of campaigning for public support while the dispute settlement procedures are underway.

The draft legislation further provides for the right to strike, which can be exercised throughout the duration of an industrial dispute. The bill outlaws lockouts, i.e. the closing down of a plant by an employer to coerce strikers into meeting his terms or modifying theirs.

Political Parties

AU2302153090 Sofia BTA in English 1440 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia February 23 (BTA)—The Bulgarian national representatives today discussed the political parties bill. Political parties' activity must not violate the Constitution; any activity that may impair the territorial integrity of the country, or undermine the unity of the nation is prohibited.

At a joint session the National Assembly Legislative Commission and the Commission on the Protection of Public Interests and Citizens' Rights approved the text banning the use of force as a means of achieving political ends.

It is proposed that the public organizations which are not registered as political parties should not enjoy the rights of political parties and that the trade unions should not carry out activity as political parties at workplaces and establishments.

Military men in the Armed Forces, in the troops of departments and the forces of the Ministry of the Interior and the representatives of jurisdiction are forbidden to occupy leading positions in the elective bodies of the political parties.

The political parties cannot receive money and property from abroad. All political parties enjoy equal rights and they may be subsidized by the state. Political parties will carry out their activity in places of residence.

Commission on Ownership Bills

AU2302170790 Sofia BTA in English 1607 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 23 (BTA)—The renewal of Bulgarian society is extending to ownership matters which have justifiably given rise to much controversy over the last few years. The idea is to restore to the citizens the possibility of a free tranfer of immovable property and real-estate ownership rights along with pricing based on supply and demand and to lift the restrictions on the type and the number of items owned by citizens. The promotion of free enterprise in all spheres of economic life presupposes the elimination of the restrictions on the ownership of transport vehicles, machines, farming, construction and other equipment.

Bulgarian lawmakers today discussed draft amendments to the citizens ownership act, the property act and the territorial and settlement organization act intended to turn the right to own property into an incentive for the generation of material wealth.

At a joint session the National Assembly standing committees on legislative affairs and on the protection of public interests and citizens' rights found that it is against the public interests to have a rentier stratum. The contemplated deterrent measures are economic (taxation) rather than administrative in character.

Foreign nationals who are not permanent residents of Bulgaria, as well as foreign juristic persons will be able to acquire immovable property in this country by a transaction which can only be authorized by the minister of finance, who will consider the applications proceeding from the extent to which the respective foreign country allows Bulgarian citizens to acquire immovable property on its territory.

It is suggested to limit dramatically the possibilities of property expropriation. Property will be expropriated for state needs only with better compensation arrangements.

Commissions on Constitution

AU2602220090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] The sessions of the legislative commission, the public interests' and citizens' rights commission, and the leading bodies of other permanent National Assembly commissions, which opened last week, continued their work today. They are discussing a whole package of draft laws.

At this morning's session the debates on the draft law for amendments and addenda to the Constitution began. The first proposal which was submitted and approved was the amendment to the preamble of the Constitution which marked the opening of debates on Chapter One, entitled: Sociopolitical System. The most heated debates, controversies, and proposals were provoked by Paragraph One of Article One. As is known, paragraphs 2 and 3 were amended at the 13th Session on 15 January 1990. As early as at that session the question of amending Paragraph One was raised. The proposal submitted questioned whether this paragraph should be totally eliminated, or its text should be amended.

The former text of the paragraph in the present Constitution reads as follows: The People's Republic is a socialist state of the working people from towns and villages, headed by the workers class. The following text was proposed at the present session: The People's Republic of Bulgaria is a socialist, democratic, and lawgoverned state. However, after prolonged debates even the adjective socialist was eliminated. The following amended text of Paragraph One was approved: The People's Republic of Bulgaria is a democratic and law-governed state. [passage indistinct on draft proposals dealing with people's councils]

As for Chapter Two of the Constitution, it was decided that a working group should be appointed on this subject since the questions discussed are very important. They are related to the economic system, to forms of property, to the right of the state to own property, and others.

Respective amendments and addenda were also made in connection with Chapter Three of the Constitution related to the basic rights and obligations of Bulgarian citizens.

As for Chapter Four, dealing with the National Assembly, the proposal was accepted that the National Assembly should be composed of 250 deputies, and not of 400 as up to this date. A very important question was also discussed. It was decided that Chapter Five dealing with the State Council should be amended and replaced by a new chapter entitled: President of the Republic.

Let us cite a few details of this amendment: The president of the Republic is to be elected by the National Assembly for a 5 year term of office by secret ballot with a minimum two-thirds majority including all National Assembly deputies. Every Bulgarian citizen who has reached the age of 40 and who fills the requirements to be elected to the National Assembly is eligible. The president of the Republic cannot fill other leading state, political, public, or economic functions, and cannot be a National Assembly deputy during his term of office.

Tommorrow the commissions are expected to pursue their work dealing with amendments and addenda to the Constitution.

View Changes to Constitution

AU2702210790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] At the National Assembly today, the Legislative Commission, the Social Interests and Citizens' Rights Commission, and the leaderships of other National Assembly Commissions continued their work.

They continued the discussion that had begun on the draft law on amendments and addenda to the Constitution. This was the second day of the discussions on this draft law. The meeting examined the new Chapter Five, entitled President of the Republic, and clarified the obligations, functions, and powers of the president and deputy president of the Republic. The statutory oath which the two officials have to give before the National Assembly was also clarified.

It was also specified that Bulgaria's economic system is based on forms of property and on market relationships. Lengthy arguments took place on the issues of the forms of property. It was adopted that in Bulgaria property is: state, municipal, and cooperative property, property of public organizations and other legal persons, private or personal property of citizens, and mixed property.

Numerous diverse viewpoints were expressed on the passages relating to state and cooperative property. One of the passages in the draft law reads that the state provides equal support for all agricultural producers, irrespective of the form of ownership and the method of farming.

These were the main changes in the draft law on amendments and addenda to the Constitution.

More on Draft Constitutional Amendments

AU2702214690 Sofia BTA in English 2102 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 27 (BTA)—The necessity of partial amendments to the Bulgarian Constitution arising from the dynamically changing situation in the country which had embarked on the road to a real renewal and democratization of social life was in the focus of attention at yesterday's session of the National Assembly Legislative Commission.

The amendments envisage the cancellation of those texts in the Constitution that decree the degree of the development of society as "a developed socialist society" and impose by dictatorial means the domination of the

Marxist-Leninist ideology in society and the upbringing of all its members in the spirit of communism.

Discussing the problem what state Bulgaria should be, the National Assembly representatives and the specialists formulated the draft amendment to Article 1 of the Constitution in the following way: "The People's Republic of Bulgaria is a democratic state committed to the rule of law." The main principles on which the political system is based and according to which it will function are national sovereignty, the unity of the nation, democracy, humanism, lawfulness and delimiting the functions of the state, the legislature, the executive and the judiciary. The decision to include the text stating that "the official language of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is the Bulgarian language" was adopted unanimously.

It is proposed that the National Assembly should have a membership of 250 national representatives and that their mandate should be four years.

The State Council, which fell short from fulfilling its functions, should be replaced by a new supreme state body—president of the Republic. According to the draft the president of the Republic should be elected by the National Assembly for a term of five years by secret ballot and a majority of at least two-thirds of the vote. Every Bulgarian citizen who is turned 40 can be elected to this post. It is explicitly underlined that the person elected to this post cannot occupy any other high-ranking state, political, public or economic positions.

Other draft amendments recognize the diversity of the forms of property state, municipal, cooperative, public organizations and citizens' property. It is underlined that all forms of property are equal before the law, that they are equally protected by the law and that the principles for carrying out economic activity are equal for all.

Independent Trade Unions Hold Congress

Petkov Speaks at Opening

AU1702171590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer Stefanov] We are now contacting the reporters' room in the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia, where our reporter Petur Donchev is following the work of the 11th Congress of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions, which opened this morning.

[Donchev] At the moment a break has been announced, but I would like to go back a few hours. The formalities took up a lot of time, but finally the congress adopted the agenda and the congress regulations, and the leading and ancillary congress organs were elected.

I would like to mention a number of points in the report delivered by Professor Krustyu Petkov, chairman of the Provisional Executive Committee, in which he described things clearly and precisely by their true names.

The draft general agreement with the government that has been prepared by the Provisional Executive Committee hardly needs any further arguments. [passage omitted with announcer's comment]

[Donchev] At the news conference last night, the chairman of the Provisional Executive Committee stated that unfortunately the agreement has still not been signed, and this is not the fault of the Provisional Executive Committee of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions. Without this agreement, as Prof. Krustyu Petkov said, the government will be unable to govern effectively because it will be subjected to continuous pressure from the workers to satisfy their interests. According to Prof. Petkov, the general agreement guarantees the mechanisms and regulations for a continuous dialogue for settling labor problems, and in this sense, he said, we should take a constructive position. This means that, with regard to every issue that affects the working man's interests, we should begin a constructive dialogue with the government, as well as defending our own position.

[Stefanov] I understand that he also spoke about syndicalism.

[Donchev] Yes, Prof. Petkov said that for us the government is a partner, with whom we should conduct a dialogue on the basis of equal rights. Since you mentioned the subject of syndicalism, colleague Stefanov, the issue of syndicalism did arouse interest. Let us hear what Prof. Krustyu Petkov said on the subject in his report.

[Begin Petkov recording] The increase in true syndicalism demands that we make a clean break with the previous centralized organization of the trade unions and change over to a new organizational structure. Life itself and the people's actions tell us that there is no other way, no other alternative. The process of self-determination of the trade union organizations has begun everywhere in the country. By the beginning of the congress over 60 new formations have appeared, alongside the present federations and trade unions of industrial branches.

This process was viewed by considerable numbers of trade union workers and organizations as something unusual, undesirable, and even dangerous. Some consider that the Bulgarian trade union movement will split up and lose its unity. This ossified way of thinking prevents many people from seeing that self-determination and, in a number of cases, the division of the organizations, are a natural and inevitable development. It cannot be limited, nor can it be banned, because it has arisen as a response and opposition to the many years of neglect of professional and branch principles in the trade unions' activity. [end recording]

[Stefanov] It would be interesting to hear about another point in the report in connection with the restructuring of the economy and the ensuing unemployment.

[Donchev] According to Krustyu Petkov, the alarming thing is that the government is delaying setting up a special system for redeploying and retraining manpower. Studies made by experts of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions show that this year over 100,000 workers in industry will be affected by this process. It is evident that the manpower employment bureaus in operation until now will continue to concern themselves with the bureaucratic registration of all those seeking work. This is why it is necessary—and this was pointed out in the report—to create a complete efficient system with a modern labor exchange. We insist that such a system be constructed, the speaker stated. [passage omitted]

[Donchev] Is union possible between the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions or the future confederation and the Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation? The answer given by Prof. Petkov to this question was as follows: Now, when Podkrepa is both a political and a trade union organization, union is not possible. I consider, Prof. Petkov stressed, that until the roundtable ends, and also not before the end of the first elections, Podkrepa would hardly be able to function autonomously and independently of the political grouping of the Union of Democratic Forces. The converse would not be logical, because it would contradict the interests of the Podkrepa leadership. However, we do not exclude the possibility in principle of a union in the future with a left trade union wing of Podkrepa, stated the chairman of the Provisional Executive Committee. [passage omitted]

Further on Proceedings

AU1702211190 Sofia BTA in English 1901 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 17 (BTA)—At the 11th Extraordinary Congress which the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions opened here today, over three thousand trade-unionists from all over the country are debating the policy documents of the future confederation of trade unions in Bulgaria: a draft statute and a draft platform for the country's political, social and economic development, as well as a draft general agreement between the trade unions and the government.

The new statute abandons the principle of democratic centralism and guarantees the trade unions' independence of political parties, organisations and economic managements. Democracy, independence and equality of affiliated organisations are listed as fundamental organisational principles. Each member organisation will be represented on the governing bodies of the confederation.

Prof. Krustyu Petkov, chairman of the Interim Executive Committee of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions, called on the congress to reconsider the trade unions' role in the future Bulgarian society.

In his view, the trade unions should be in "constructive opposition" to the government. He said that by declaring their independence, the trade unions "freed themselves of the communist party's tutelage, of the role of an instrument of other bodies' decisions" and will conduct a dialogue on equal terms on all matters concerning working people's interests.

Prof. Krustyu Petkov called on the government to sign the general agreement with the trade unions in the shortest time in order to create conditions for social peace. The trade unions do not seek ministerial portfolios but will take part in the forthcoming elections. Their members will vote for the candidates whose platforms correspond to the trade union demands. Prof. Petkov emphasized that the trade unions will keep opposing any attempt by the ruling party and the opposition to place their partisan interests before the interests of the working people at the roundtable negotiations.

The trade unions will maintain contacts with all "centre and left-of-centre" parties and organisations, except extremist and fascist ones. Mr. Petkov said that a unification of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions with the Podkrepa Independent Labour Federation would be impossible so long as the latter is "both a political and a trade-union organisation."

Prof. Petkov disagreed with what he called an "unemployment policy declared in advance by the government" and which will affect 100,000 industrial workers already this year, according to trade union estimates. He urged for the passage of a social security act, pointing out that 36 per cent of Bulgarians live on a subsistence level.

The future confederation should break with the "nomenklatura principle" of selecting union officers. The national executive should be composed of delegates freely elected by the affiliates, belonging to different parties or to no party at all. Mr. Petkov said that the full-time staff of the central leadership should not exceed 100 people and that 70 per cent of the members' subscription should remain with the local branches.

The Bulgarian trade unions will reconsider their membership in the World Federation of Trade Unions if that organisation does not undergo a deep reform at its forthcoming congress, Prof. Krustyu Petkov said.

The delegates held a lively and occasionally acerbic debate on Bulgaria's main socio-economic and political problems. After a sharp exchange occasioned by the controversy over the construction of a second nuclear power station at Belene on the River Danube, the congress resolved to form a commission on environment problems.

A representative of the Podkrepa Independent Labour Federation was interrupted and booed when he lashed out against the "state-controlled trade unions," but was nevertheless applauded when he finished his greetings address.

Prof. Nora Ananieva, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, who greeted the congress on behalf of the

government, said that total output in January 1990 was 457 million leva's worth less than in the same month last year. She said that the government was ready to consider and sign a general agreement with the trade unions.

A number of delegates who took the floor called for the 11th Extraordinary Congress to turn into a constituent congress of the new trade union confederation.

Independent Confederation Founded

AU1802190590 Sofia BTA in English 1751 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 18 (BTA)—A Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria was established here today. The delegates to the 11th Congress of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions, which grew into a Constituent Congress of the Confederation, adopted a statute which declares its independence of political and other public organizations, state bodies and structures, of the employers, the economic and the administrative managements.

The congress heard greetings addresses sent from Mr Ibrahim Zakariya, general secretary of the World [Federation] of Trade Unions, from the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the USSR, from the British-Bulgarian Trade Unions Association, etc.

The confederation is a voluntary nationwide amalgamation of independent and equal trade and cultural unions, trade union federations and other syndicalist-oriented organizations.

The principal objective of the confederation is to represent and to defend the rights and the interests of the trade union members in labor affairs, employment and labor relations, in distribution and living standards, social security and assistance, and the realization of their material, social and cultural interests.

The statute guarantees the freedom of trade union association without distinction of political convictions, nationality, ethnicity, race, sex and religion, as well as the right to membership of working people, pensioners and unemployed with the exception of private owners employing hired labor.

The trade-unionists elected to positions of responsibility will not participate in executive bodies of state, economic, administrative, party or other political organizations.

The supreme body of the Confederation is the congress, called once in three years. Between congresses the Confederation is administered by a Coordination Council comprising the leaders of affiliated organizations with over 5,000 members, as well as the leaders of territorial coordination bodies with a total membership of over 50,000. The Coordination Council also comprises the president, the vice president and the secretary general of the Confederation, who will be limited to two three-year terms of office.

Confederation Elects Leaders

AU1902081290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0400 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] The Constituent Congress of the Confederation of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions took place at the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia. This is the final composition of the confederation's leadership, which was elected after a 5-hour process:

Prof. Dr. Krustyu Petkov—chairman;
Svetoslav Borislavov Stavrev, Ognyan Georgiev Krumov, Mladen Georgiev Mladenov, and Diyana Dimitrova Deyanova—deputy chairmen;
Zhelyazko Ivanov Khristov—unpaid deputy chairman;
Miladin Stoynov Shatarov—responsible secretary;
Boris Polyakov—chairman of the Finance-Control Commission.

Prof. Dr. Krustyu Petkov read a concluding speech. Thus, the Constituent Congress of the Confederation of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions ended.

Congress Adopts Decisions

AU1902101190 Sofia BTA in English 0822 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 19 (BTA)—The Constituent Congress of the Confederation of the Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria ended early today. Prof. Krustyu Petkov was elected chairman of the Confederation.

46-year-old Petkov holds a master's degree in economics. He is Ph.D. and Professor in the sociology of labor. Before the Confederation was set up, he chaired the Provisional Executive Committee of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions.

In view of the economic crisis, in its decisions the congress calls on the workers to refrain from strikes until the end of March. It is insisted that responsible representatives of the government should meet with the labor collectives whose problems are the most painful.

It is proposed that the federations and the specialized trade unions should work out their statutes and programs and should hold their congresses by the end of March this year.

The activity of the regional councils of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions is discontinue as of March 1, 1990. The municipal councils will keep functioning until the end of June. By that time decisions are to be made about their structure, functions and maintenance.

It was decided that the Coordinating Council of the Confederation should submit to the National Assembly a trade union bill and make a decision on the establishment of a Syndical Bank. In its address to the national roundtable talks the congress appeals for realism and giving up ultimatums. The roundtable should discuss the socioeconomic problems and reach an agreement on the

ways of overcoming the crisis and the normalization of the economic life the soonest possible, it is said in the address.

UK Deputy Foreign Secretary Waldgrave Visits

Arrival Noted

AU2402155190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] William Waldegrave, UK first deputy foreign secretary, has arrived in Bulgaria on a two-day visit.

This is the first visit to Bulgaria by this eminent British diplomat. The aim of his visit is to get an idea of the political situation in Bulgaria and the changes that have taken place since 10 November 1989, to meet with representatives of political forces with different orientations, and to hear the assessments of people with the widest possible range of opinions on the future development of Bulgarian society.

I have been awaiting my first visit to Bulgaria with impatience. During the last few months, important changes have taken place here, and I am glad that Bulgaria has started down the road toward pluralism and democracy, William Waldegrave told a BTA representative.

I well understand the problems that Bulgaria is facing. You are adapting yourselves to a new political culture, to the development of a viable economy built on solid foundations. We expect that the elections to be held this year will be open and fair, and will lead to the formation of a government that enjoys wide public support. This will provide a stable foundation for the radical policy that is needed for Bulgaria to integrate itself in the international community and establish closer links with the United Kingdom.

My visit is the first step toward better relations, and I hope that it will be the first of many visits to come, said the first deputy secretary of foreign affairs of the United Kingdom.

Statement on Visit

AU2502201990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] This is the first visit by a high-ranking UK official to Bulgaria after the changes that have begun in East Europe. Naturally, I am here in order to assess the development of the events and acquaint myself with the situation. In the Foreign Office we deal with the programs on assisting the East European countries, therefore we would like to know whether we could facilitate the development of the reforms. This is what William Waldegrave, UK first deputy foreign secretary, said upon his arrival at Sofia Airport.

He will visit the country from 25 to 27 February and will meet representatives of the government and the opposition.

Meets Foreign Minister Dimitrov

AU2602150390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] The basic goal of the visit to Bulgaria by William Waldegrave, UK first deputy secretary of foreign affairs, is to become acquainted with the development of events and the purpose of the changes that have begun.

Today he was received by Foreign Minister Boyko Dimitrov. During the businesslike and frank conversation, the guest was briefed on the prospects of the processes of democratization in our country, the government's plans on economic reform, and the anticrisis program that will be submitted to the next National Assembly session.

The British guest noted with satisfaction the fact that the leading party in our country has formulated an invitation to representatives of the European parliaments that participate in the European process to observe the elections in Bulgaria.

Speaking about bilateral relations, the wish was expressed to prepare the ground for more substantial agreements. It was pointed out that the agreements themselves will be signed after the elections. Minister Boyko Dimitrov reviewed East-West relations and the development of the Vienna talks.

Afterward William Waldegrave, UK first deputy secretary of foreign affairs, met representatives of the Union of Democratic forces. At the moment the English guest is talking with Lyuben Gotsev, first deputy minister of internal affairs.

Holds Talks at Foreign Ministry

AU2602210790 Sofia BTA in English 1928 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 26 (BTA)—Conferring with Mr Stefan Staykov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, Mr William Waldegrave, minister of state, UK foreign and commonwealth office, assessed in positive terms the promotion of bilateral cooperation and welcomed the changes taking place in this country.

The Bulgarian diplomat stressed that the democratization processes are irreversible and that irrespective of the results of the forthcoming elections, this line will be unswervingly pursued.

Bulgaria seeks understanding and relies on Britain's specific assistance in connection with the Bulgarian-EC talks and hopes that the UK will support its bid to join the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

The British minister reaffirmed his country's desire to sign a bilateral agreement on reciprocal investment protection and to renew the cultural agreement.

The sides share a high opinion of the interaction in combatting drug trafficking. The guest stressed Bulgaria's role to check the flow of illicit drugs to Western Europe and expressed readiness for assistance, including the supply of equipment, in order to increase the efficiency of border interdiction.

Mr Stefan Staykov spoke about the situation in the Balkans and about Bulgaria's willingness to maintain and promote a civilized dialogue with all states in the region, Turkey included. He said he was surprised by the actions of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia in connection with raising the so-called matter of a "Macedonian minority" in Bulgaria. Mr Staykov emphasized that all political parties in Bulgaria had reached a consensus on the so-called "Macedonian question".

Mr Waldegrade today conferred with Mr Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs. The guest told him he was pleased with the initiative of the ruling Bulgarian Communist Party to invite representatives of the CSCE countries as observers of the forthcoming electins.

Mr Boyko Dimitrov welcomed the British initiative to familiarize the Bulgarian political circles with the British election campaign experience.

Bulgaria supports the UK and US suggestion that at the forthcoming CSCE summit the East undertake to hold free elections on a regular basis as an inalienable and fundamental human right.

Mr Boyko Dimitrov said that Bulgaria was concerned about the outcome of the CFE [Conventional Armed Forces in Europe] talks in Vienna. He pointed out that it is quite possible that the reduced arms and armed forces would be redeployed close to the area of reduction, on NATO's Southern flank included.

Received by Lukanov

AU2602210190 Sofia BTA in English 1959 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 26 (BTA)—Mr Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, today received Mr William Waldegrave, minister of state, foreign and commonwealth office.

The British guest was familiarized with the processes of democratization in Bulgaria and with the related need for the achievement of national consensus as a prerequisite to find a way out of the crisis. The sides considered in detail the economic reform and the opportunities for a further promotion of Bulgaro-British business cooperation.

Attention was paid to the case of the Bulgarian emigre writer Georgi Markov who was killed in London in 1978. Mr Andrey Lukanov pointed out that Bulgaria does not object to an investigation of the case, provided that Britain supplies the necessary information justifying such action. Mr Waldegrave discussed the same matter with Mr Lyuben Gotsev, first deputy minister of internal affairs.

Meets BZNS, SDS Officials

AU2602211690 Sofia BTA in English 1933 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 26 (BTA)—Mr William Waldegrave, minister of state, UK foreign and commonwealth office, who is visiting here, today had talks with representatives of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) and of the opposition Union of Democratic forces (SDS).

The BZNS and the SDS set forth their views on the situation in the country and on the action needed to cope with the crisis.

At the talks with the SDS attention was called to the economic reforms in Bulgaria and more specifically to the opportunities to mitigate the negative side effects of economic privatization.

Welcomes Changes in Bulgaria

AU2702162090 Sofia BTA in English 1304 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 27 (BTA)—Mr. William Waldegrave, minister of state, UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office, wholeheartedly welcomed the changes in Bulgaria. "I believe the sincerity of people like the Prime Minister Mr. Lukanov when they talk about the need for reform. I don't think this is cosmetic," Mr. Waldegrave told a news conference here today before he left after a three-day visit.

The guest said that "in terms of foreign policy Bulgaria is much more pragmatic, much easier to deal with." He said that Britain and Bulgaria "have a good and developing relationship at the level of discussions of the Conventional Forces in Europe Talks and the CSCE process." The British diplomat welcomed the steps taken to restore rights to the Turkish-speaking people in this country.

Mr. William Waldegrave believes that "the reforms in Bulgaria are "good things to which it would be right for the outside world to respond as we have by much more open and friendly dialogue."

"People told me that here there was a Balkanized opposition, whatever that might mean," the guest pointed out, "but I find that the arguments are the same as everywhere else." "The way in which political traditions come back to life is remarkable," Mr. Waldegrave said.

Britain is planning a big expansion of English language teaching scholarships here and wants to negotiate a cultural agreement and to establish a cultural centre. It also wants to sign an investment protection agreement with Bulgaria.

"We have provided to the DEMOKRATSIYA newspaper some equipment to help them in their slightly unequal struggle with the official newspapers," Mr. Waldegrave said. He told the press that the Bulgarian Government had asked Britain for medical aid.

Ends Visit, Makes Statement

AU2702143890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Report by Lidiya Bozhilova on visit by William Waldegrave, UK first deputy secretary of foreign affairs, to Bulgaria for Bulgarian Radio's Khorizont Program]

[Text] As early as his arrival, William Waldegrave said that he intended to get acquainted with the political situation and the state of the national economy. His talks and meetings with Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov; Foreign Affairs Minister Boyko Dimitrov; Stefan Staykov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs; Lyuben Gotsev, first deputy minister of internal affairs; the leadership of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS] and the "Nikola Petkov" BZNS; and representatives of the Union of Democratic Forces were related to the goals of his visit.

Despite the fact that because of a lack of time the UK guest was able to visit only Sofia, his diversified contacts allowed him to conclude that he visited Bulgaria during a very interesting and obviously transitional period of our development. At the improvised news conference at Sofia Airport, I first of all naturally asked William Waldegrave to asses his visit.

[Begin Waldegrave recording in English, fading into Bulgarian translation, read by Bozhilova] In anything related to foreign policy, Bulgaria now is much more pragmatic and it is easier to work together. I mean first of all the issues of conventional weapons, developing the all-European process, and the future of the continent. The world must react to those changes with a much more frank and friendly dialogue, as we are doing. [end recording]

The English guest understood from his conversation with Andrey Lukanov that our economic situation is very serious. However, if an economic policy is to succeed, it must enjoy the support of the people. The process of democratization has a crucial role in this context, Mr. Waldegrave pointed out.

For the foreign observer, it is clear that still very little has changed in Bulgaria's political system, that the nomenklatura members are still in their posts, and that bureaucracy is subordinate to the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]. The opposition will have great difficulties, because it faces a party that has been in power for more than 40 years, and still has all levers in its hands, William Waldegrave warned. Therefore, very careful, honest, and open procedures will be needed in order to implement a just preelection struggle and the elections themselves.

The UK diplomat also expressed his positive impressions of the opposition representatives with whom he met. They understand the problems as well as the representatives of the opposition in other East European countries. Among them there are people fully capable of leading parties in a democratic atmosphere. This is facilitated by the restoration of your political traditions.

The changes in Bulgaria cannot be viewed separately from the East-West relations and the development of the political processes in Europe. In this context, William Waldegrave pointed out:

[Begin Waldegrave recording in English, fading into Bulgarian translation read by Bozhilova] Bulgaria obviously is a country in which the BCP reformers play an important role. I believe in the sincerity of people such as Mr. Lukanov, and when they invoke the necessity of reforms, I think that they mean serious and not merely cosmetic measures. However, this does not solve all problems because the transition from a single-party system to real democracy is very difficult. The conditions in Bulgaria differ from those in other East European countries. However, they are a part of the developing and changing East-West relations that will cause a fundamental change in the world. [end recording]

This was said by William Waldegrave, UK first deputy secretary of foreign affairs, prior to his departure from Bulgaria.

European Council Leader Bjorck Visits

AU2602155990 Sofia BTA in English 1455 GMT 26 Feb 90

["Bulgaria Welcomes Council of Europe Chief"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 26 (BTA)—Bulgaria's request for special guest status with the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (CE) and this country's prospective membership of the Council were discussed at talks in the National Assembly today with Mr Anders Bjorck, president of the Parliamentary Assembly.

Mr Bjorck, who arrived here yesterday at the head of a CE delegation said he was ready to work for the facilitation of this process.

Conferring with Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman the National Assembly, and with members of the National Assembly Standing Committee on Foreign Policy, Mr Anders Bjorck declared himself repeatedly in favor of enhanced contacts between Bulgaria and the Council of Europe, which will help fill the information gap on Bulgaria in Strasbourg.

Mr Anders Bjorck recommended that Bulgaria accedes to some of the 135 Council of Europe conventions as a first step towards an activation of contacts.

"I see that Bulgaria is turning its face to Europe and I appreciate this," he said, expressing the conviction that

this country's cooperation with the Council of Europe, which is trying to throw a bridge between Eastern and Western Europe, would also contribute in this direction.

The Bulgarian officials told their guests that there are plans to invite MPs from the USSR, the United States, the FRG, France, Britain, Canada, Finland, Austria and members of the European Parliament, apart from representatives of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, to observe the elections.

The Council of Europe envoys inquired about the political and economic situation in Bulgaria, about the progress of democratization, about the common grounds and the differences between the official authorities and the opposition.

Bulgaria lodged a request for special guest status with the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in December 1989.

During a visit it paid to the Council of Europe in January 1990, a Bulgarian parliamentary delegation invited a CE delegation to its current visit.

As a result of the Bulgarian delegation's visit to Strasbourg, the National Assembly Foreign Affairs Committee resolved to form a special group to promote contacts with the Council of Europe and to study the possibilities for Bulgaria's accession to some of the CE conventions.

Since 1966 Bulgaria has been taking part in a number of conferences and exhibitions organized by the Council of Europe.

Meetings, Remarks Noted

AU2602210490 Sofia BTA in English 1852 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 26 (BTA)—Mr Boyko Dimitrov, Bulgaria's minister of foreign affairs, today conferred with the visiting delegation of the Council of Europe (CE) led by Mr Anders Bjorck, president of the CE Parliamentary Assembly.

The sides pointed out that the Council of Europe and Bulgaria will take action to expedite the procedure of granting this country special guest status with the CE Parliamentary Assembly, a request for which has been lodged by the National Assembly.

On behalf of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr Dimitrov inquired about the terms and the procedures of Bulgaria's admission to the Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs or their deputies (permanent representatives).

Mr Anders Bjorck showed interest in the conditions for democratization in Bulgaria and in its foreign policy since November 10, 1989, as well as in Bulgaria's Balkan policy.

Mr Boyko Dimitrov told the press after the meeting that Bulgaria's accession to that major international organization would be of great political importance for this country. The Council's conventions and working groups would give Bulgaria an opportunity for wide-ranging exchange of experience in a wide range of public life fields and would open a new channel of cooperation.

The Bulgarian foreign minister expressed the conviction that the irreversible democratic changes in this country qualify it for special guest status and, after a definite period of time, for full Council of Europe membership.

The Council of Europe delegation today conferred with Mr Angel Dimitrov, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), who spoke about the work of the agrarian party in the conditions of progressing political pluralism in Bulgaria.

Mr Anders Bjorck stressed the interest which the Council of Europe shows in developments in Bulgaria. He said that the rapid and civilized transition to a democratic society would create still more favourable conditions for cooperation with the West European institutions. The Council of Europe would assist Bulgaria to establish contacts with the West European organizations in which it shows interest, he said.

Havel's USSR Trip Ends; Communique Issued

Meets Soviet Politicians, 'Democrats'

LD2702175190 Prague CTK in English 1607 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow Feb 27 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel ended here Tuesday a two-day working visit to the Soviet Union and left for home.

Before his departure Vaclav Havel met with members of the Foreign Relations' Committee of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union.

The Czechoslovak statesman was also interested in the introduction of the presidential office in the Soviet Union which is on the agenda of the Soviet parliament's session today.

The two sides also discussed contacts between the parliaments of the two countries.

Standing on the Red Square Vaclav Havel recalled a protest demonstration of seven courageous Soviet citizens twenty-two years ago. Who expressed their support for Czechoslovakia. Their sympathies for the Czechoslovak people and their protest against the Soviet invasion of 1968.

Vaclav Havel described his morning talks with Yelena Bonner and other Soviet democrats, including two participants in the above mentioned demonstration, as 'very interesting'. "We thanked them for their then action and promised to make a small repeat on Wenceslas Square in Prague on August 21," Vaclav Havel said.

The Czechoslovak president met also today with representatives of Soviet culture Yevgeni Yevtushenko, Chingiz Aytmatov, Bulat Okujava, Elem Klimov and others.

In the Czechoslovak Embassy in Moscow Vaclav Havel received representatives of various groups of Czechs and Slovak living temporarily or permanently in the Soviet Union.

'Comfortable' With Soviet Cultural Figures

LD2702194290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Report by correspondents Petr Voldan and Lubomir Sisak in Moscow on the second day of President Vaclav Havel's working visit to the USSR]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Voldan] Yevgeniy Yevtushenko, Chingiz Aytmatov, Bulat Okudzhava, Oleg Tabakov, Yuriy Lyubimov—these are but a few names from the cream of Soviet culture who welcomed Vaclav Havel in the afternoon. Nikolay Gubenko, minister of culture and an actor, used the opportunity to note that at present eight plays by Vaclav Havel have been translated and are ready to be performed on Soviet stages.

It was evident that the Czechoslovak president felt comfortable in the company of prominent cultural figures, while the personalities known from the titles of Soviet books, stages, and screens seemed surprised by the directness of the head of the Czechoslovak state. While answering their questions, Vaclav Havel did not focus solely on culture. He noted that he would not like to see his plays performed in the Soviet Union only because he is a president. He explained, for example, his attitude on emigration, and, referring to further development of mutual cultural relations he said:

[Begin Havel recording] I think that cooperation could be far richer and more authentic than it has been so far and that the so-called friendship which is formal and official can be replaced with an authentic cooperation. I myself was surprised that for the four months (?since our revolution) we have not had the pleasure to welcome in our country even one of the famous artists present here. But this will undoubtedly be rectified. I believe that even the Taganka Theatre will pay us a visit; I believe that the string theatre will visit Moscow; I believe that Mr. Yevtushenko will also arrive one day without officials along to advise him with whom he is or is not allowed to meet. [end recording]

[Unidentified correspondent] A joint communique was published even before Vaclav Havel's departure from Moscow. Incidentally, he was seen off at the airport by Anatoliy Lukyanov. The communique says, among other things, that the relations between the two countries should be built on the principles of sovereignty, equality, and noninterference. The Soviet side, the communique goes on to say, expressed its regret at the unjustified entry of troops into Czechoslovakia in August 1968, which negatively influenced the further development of Czechoslovakia and which exerted negative influence also on the international situation.

President Vaclav Havel invited Mikhail Gorbachev to visit our republic. The invitation has been accepted with thanks.

Arrives in Prague

LD2702205890 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1830 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] In the early evening, Vaclav Havel, president of the Republic, returned to Prague. He was welcomed at Ruzyne Airport by Alexander Dubcek, Marian Calfa, and other figures. The welcoming ceremony was completed with a march past by the guard of honor of the Prague garrison.

Dienstbier: Soviets Understood Need for 'Regrets'

LD2702222290 Prague CTK in English 2135 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow Feb 27 (CTK Correspondent)—The Soviet side has understood during the Czechoslovak-Soviet talks here that, despite all its problems at home,

the formulation that it regrets the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 was really necessary for real normalization of the two countries' relations, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier told CTK here today.

He added that it is necessary for the Czechoslovak nations to hear an open stance of the Soviet Union on the invasion.

Asked about the obstacles which hamper the development of ties between the two countries, the minister said he did not see any with the exception of those stemming from the state of the Czechoslovak and Soviet economies. He added that new ways of cooperation must be intensively sought as it would not be good for Czechoslovakia to lose an advantage of the supplies of Soviet crude oil and natural gas. The two countries' economic ties must be based entirely on trade principles advantageous for both sides, Jiri Dienstbier pointed out.

He went on to say that nobody has shown interest in Czechoslovakia for many years and now a great interest has arisen. He said he made close friendly ties with both James Baker and Eduard Shevardnadze within several hours of discussions.

It is surprising that representatives of the big powers such as the United States and the Soviet Union really listen to what we say, the Czechoslovak foreign minister said and added that Czechoslovakia also listens to what they say and strives to understand each other.

Interior Minister Meets With USSR Counterpart

LD2802094990 Prague CTK in English 2105 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow Feb 27 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Minister of the Interior Richard Sacher met here Tuesday with his Soviet counterpart Vaduim Bakatin.

The Soviet side has submitted a draft protocol on cooperation between the two ministers of the interior.

Referring to the agreement on cooperation in the struggle against terrorism, international crime and drug trafficking signed by Richard Sacher and Vladimir Kryuchkov on Monday, the Czechoslovak minister said it could be published immediately, and added that similar agreement could be signed with the United States, Austria or other countries with joint interests.

Havel's North America Visit Favorably Assessed

AU2702115190 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 24 Feb 90 p 5

[Kveta Buschova commentary: "The Balance of Five Days"]

[Text] President Vaclav Havel's visit to North America lasted a total of five days. A mere five days which, in defiance of today's jam-packed international political activity, aroused unprecedented attention throughout the world. This attention developed as a result of more than just the fact that this was the first official visit made by our head of state to Canada and the first visit made to the United States by an East European, non-communist president in the history of the socialist era.

Understandably, there are more reasons for the attention paid to the Czechoslovak President's visit to Canada and, in particular, to the United States. Among the main—and generally appreciated—reasons is, however, the fact that Vaclav Havel was the first East European politician who has recently come to Ottawa and Washington without "an outstretched palm;" he asked neither Canadians nor Americans for financial assistance. On the contrary, he surprised his hosts during his speech at the Capitol, recognized overall as the high point of his five-day visit, a speech delivered in front of both houses of Congress and millions of television viewers, when he explained that the United States can help Czechoslovakia and East Europe most of all by directing most of its aid toward the Soviet Union—that is, by helping Mikhail Gorbachev as much as possible with "perestroyka"; by helping the USSR's rather difficult progress toward a pluralist, democratic society.

Likewise, both the statement made by CSSR Premier Marian Calfa that "the selling off of Czechoslovak property is not being taken into consideration" and the fact that the entire Czechoslovak delegation, both in Canada and in the United States, endeavored, first and foremost, to assert and develop equal collaboration and cooperation in economic, ecological, cultural, educational, and other spheres, confirmed the objectives of the Czechoslovak visit. Proof was provided that the United States recognizes, appreciates, and accepts Czechoslovakia's approach when U.S President George Bush, immediately after the 20 February first meeting with Vaclav Havel, sent Congress a proposal that in Czechoslovakia's case it rescind the validity of the Jackson-Vanik clause on U.S. commercial law (which to date has considerably limited U.S.- Czechoslovak mutual trade), and on the same day began talks concerning a mutual trade agreement (which, together with the law establishing the right of all Czechoslovak citizens to emigrate, is a condition of the most favored nation status being granted).

However, extraordinary international interest was aroused by more than the fact that the Czechoslovak President did not come to North America to request money; his political stances and proposals also aroused interest. Disarmament issues, the gradual dissolution of military pacts, the necessity of changing the world from a bipolar one into a multipolar one, the sovereignty and responsibility of superpowers and small states, the transition to a Lincolnist "human family," and the moral aspects of policy all aroused a positive response. First and foremost though, the president's proposals concerned the continuation of the Helsinki process. Specifically, his proposal that the so-called Helsinki 2, planned for March 1992, or the summit involving the most senior representatives of the 35 nations participating in the

Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, not only take place sooner but bring a lot more. This is to say nothing of officially ending World War II and its consequences, the incorporation of a united democratic Germany into the new pan-European structure, and the establishment of a European security system with ties to other global regions.

Indisputably, the balance of the visit made by President Havel and other senior Czechoslovak representatives to Canada and the United States is positive. After all, next week, R. Mosbacher, U.S. trade secretary, will visit Prague in the company of experts in order to conclude a trade agreement as quickly as possible. (This, along with most-favored-nation status, will enable the CSSR to be quickly re-accepted into the IMF and other international economic and financial institutions and is substantially more important than the most-favored-nation status itself). Finally, on 26 February, Vaclav Havel departs for talks with Mikhail Gorbachev. Since some of the ideas contained in Havel's speech to the U.S. Congress have already been described as interesting in Moscow, it may be expected that they will not only be discussed in detail here but will be supported and expanded by other proposals.

Soviet Withdrawal Causing Local Problems

LD2702122890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] The planned withdrawal of Soviet troops from the East Bohemian region brings not only joy but also problems to the local population. Correspondent (Vaclav Bartinik) has telephoned:

[Begin (Bartinik) recording] The withdrawal of Soviet troops from East Bohemia will start in stages. It will not be without complications. First, by the end of May, they will leave from the locations of their greatest concentration—that is, from the Usti nad Orlici district—namely from locations in Vysoke Myto, Klasterec, Ceska Trebova, and Cervena Voda. In the larger towns, where a number of apartments will be vacated, there will be problems with interior fittings that do not correspond to our norms, while small villages such as Klasterec nad Orlici, which has a population of 700, will face a paradoxical situation which is now causing some hard thinking; there is, among other things, a newly built dining room seating 1,000 and a cinema with the same number of seats, and what should be done with them now? The district capital, Usti nad Orlici, has calculated that losses in apartment rent, heating, and vacated apartment maintenance payments will reach 50 million korunas in one year. This is another nut to crack! And to this we have to add the cost for the repairs of roads after the transportation of heavy military hardware to the railways. This is at present difficult to estimate.

It is certain, however, that the Soviet units will start withdrawing from the Usti nad Orlici in less than three weeks. A similar timescale is envisaged for the withdrawal from the Semily district. [end recording]

Dubcek Addresses Federal Assembly

LD2702140490 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0900 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Speech by Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek before the Federal Assembly in Prague—live]

[Excerpts] Apart from supervising government activity, we should also consider giving the government our active help—and this I would like to underline—in the current economic and financial difficulties. Let us consider setting up an economies committee, which would gather proposals from both experts and citizens and then submit to the government various proposals designed to achieve economies. This can be achieved because the wisdom of the public is rich, extensive, and very useful, because they could uncover sources of economies which cannot be seen well from the center.

I have had albeit a brief but nonetheless useful conversation with Finance Minister Mr. Klaus. He has rather a lot to cope with and I believe that we understand his difficulties well, because he has to face a very complicated task. On the one hand there is the common and general interest to halt inflationary pressures, while on the other there are other pressures to relax financial discipline. He has told me that he has been advised by experts to hide himself for a time to avoid going bankrupt. We know that he cannot do so and that he has to dedicate himself very conscientiously and strenuously to his far from easy work.

The way out of this situation is apparent—that is, the budget must be an anti-inflationary one, and here we have a big role to play in supporting the government in this direction. The government must outline its policy, and we must help them to carry it out.

In this connection it is appropriate to stress that before the borders were opened—which was in our general interest and desire—financial, customs, and other regulations should have been appropriately amended to prevent damage to our economy and to stop smugglers and other racketeers from enriching themselves. Let us say frankly that the good intention then turned against the interest of our consumer and taxpayer. I have been told by many people that large quantities of goods are escaping, and in this pre-Eastern period this might cause certain difficulties in our domestic supplies. It will therefore be necessary to take certain measures, albeit additional, in this area.

Esteemed deputies, beside the internal parliamentary activity ahead of us, we face tasks which we have to discharge toward the public at large. I now have specifically in mind the dignified commemoration of the 140th anniversary of the birth of Tomas Garrigue Masaryk, the coming 45th anniversary of the Czech uprising and the liberation of our country. I know that we cannot continue the discredited policy of going from one anniversary to another. There is a need, however, this year to put right many things. For long years those aspects and

sections of our resistance movement, which were so to speak national and civic ones, have not been fully appreciated. Without going to the other extreme and depreciating what communists really did in the resistance movement, and without depreciating the role played in our liberation by the Soviet Union, which played the key role here and suffered the biggest sacrifice—around 100,000 Soviet soldiers fell in this country—we ought to deal resolutely with the debts we owe to other soldiers in our resistance, and I have in mind above all left-wing socialists, supporters of President Benes, Benes himself, and naturally the allied armies—that is, the American, British, and French armies and, in view of the large sacrifices made, last but not least, the Romanian army.

As far as the parliament is concerned, I recommend that we follow the resolution made by my predecessor, Josef Smrkovsky, who is no longer among us, made in 1968 on Old Town Square. It was the promise that we will pay our debt to those brave resistance fighters who carried out the assassination of Heydrich. We should at least renew Smrkovsky's promise that the parliament will ensure that a dignified memorial is erected to them, or at least that it considers it and adopts a stand to it.

At the same time we should propose that rehabilitation is completed for those resistance fighters who were wronged in the 1950's and during the period of "normalization," so as to ensure that the process we began in 1968 is accomplished now in this period. Those who were involved in that period know that among the first we rehabilitated was deputy Horakova and others, and if my memory serves me well there were between 35,000 and 38,000 unjustly persecuted people. It was not a small achievement during those few months. Even so, something still remains from the past which has not yet been put right, and I believe we are now duty bound to return to this question.

In my consideration, the case of the leading representative of the Benes wing, Vladimir Krajina, should also be reexamined. In general it will be necessary to follow up the process of rehabilitation started but not completed in 1968. It is necessary to bring to its logical conclusion the rectification of all mistakes committed against innocent people between 1948 and 1989. It is our moral duty to return human dignity and honor to all those who were unjustly persecuted. If we discharge our role both in the legislative and supervisory activity, the parliament will then prove its working performance and will become a key element in our democratic system in the pursuit of its aim—that the people are the real source of power. [passage omitted]

Esteemed Federal Assembly, we have favorable international conditions for our activity. In the past these conditions were a limiting factor on our endeavours. Let us recall 1939, the deformations and terror after 1948, and the violence which culminated in August 1968. The profound transformations which the Soviet Union is undergoing, Mikhail Gorbachev's policy being pursued despite difficulties with which perestroyka is having to wrestle, give great hopes not only to us but the world at large. I myself have already voiced several times my support for these changes and have even appealed in the European parliament in Strasbourg for support for perestroyka.

Now however the issue is that we, too, help through practical steps these changes and do not do anything under any super-revolutionary slogans which would in reality play into the hands of anti-perestroyka and neo-Stalinist forces which after all still exist in the Soviet Union. Mr. President is currently on an official visit to the Soviet Union, and I believe that his mission will be beneficial to both our states in this respect. When I reiterate the success of this mission, I proceed from the fact that those involved in the partnership talks are representatives of Gorbachev's reform and democratic perestroyka, not of the militant Brezhnevite neo-Stalinists. Our supportive partnership attitude to the Soviet Union and the reform movement taking place there should also spring from this.

Esteemed deputies, our revolution has won international recognition for this country. The international activity of our new state representation has also made a contribution to this. The trip of Mr. President Vaclav Havel to Canada and the United States ended a few days ago. The success of this trip, including the president's speech to both houses of Congress, has laid the foundation for our modern relations with the American continent. It has raised Czechoslovakia's prestige both on the European and world scale. I believe that all of us observed this and are glad of it.

Equally, Mr. Marian Calfa, the premier, and other members of the federal, Czech and Slovak government have been considerably active in the field of foreign relations. We, the Federal Assembly, have also been contributiong to the success of this policy. I myself use every opportunity to ease our way back to Europe and the world at large. I had talks with Mr. Bjork, president of the Council of Europe, and others. These were good talks. I believe that the results of our work are not negligible. This is born out by the results of talks Mr. Jozef Stank and Mr. Bohuslav Kucera recently had in Paris on 21 February, where the committee for non-member states of the Council of Europe gave unanimous support to the application made by our Federal Assembly to be granted guest status in the Council of Europe bodies.

The number of requests being made for meetings and talks by foreign politicians, deputies, businessmen, expatriates, and the like bears witness to the standing now enjoyed by Czechoslovakia and its new parliament.

Allow me to make one more observation. In two days time it will be 70 years since the National Assembly adopted on 20 February 1920 [as heard] the constitutional document of the Czechoslovak Republic. It adopted a constitution which confirmed parliamentary democracy as the form of our independent state. Let us

work with all our strength and abilities to ensure that the parliament restores its functions as fits the character of a parliamentary democracy, assumes the supreme position in the state as a body which derives its powers from the sovereignty of people, and that we work for the benefit and interests of both our nations, ethnic minorities, and for the good of our whole people. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Federal Assembly Passes New Election Law

LD2702221790 Prague CTK in English 2150 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 27 (CTK)—A new law on the elections to the Federal Assembly was passed here today by a decisive majority of the deputies after almost a five-hour debate.

According to the law the elections take place on the basis of a common, equal and direct election right by secret ballot.

The elections are held on Czechoslovak territory and each Czechoslovak citizen aged over 18 years competent for doing legal acts can vote. Each Czechoslovak citizen aged over 21 years can be elected a deputy.

Lists of candidates can be submitted by political parties and movements (groupings) based on qualified support of the public, i.e. parties having at least ten thousand individual members or a petition in their support with the same number of signatures. Political parties can agree on submitting a joint list of candidates.

The new election law puts emphasis on the principle of secret ballot and freedom of decision of voters.

Army Association Alleges Election Discrimination

LD2602134990 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] The All-Army Committee of the Association of Professional Soldiers of the Czechoslovak People's Army has sent an open letter to Federal Assembly deputies. It is a reaction to information included in the bill on elections to parliament now going through the Federal Assembly, which does not envisage professional soldiers being elected to legislative bodies. The letter argues that, if professional soldiers are deprived of their passive electoral right, the possibility of the armed forces to express themselves on developments which directly affect the daily lives of their members would be very restricted. There is allegedly also a danger that the armed forces would be separated from the people.

The All-Army Committee of the Professional Soldiers' Association views as a backward step the fact that members of the armed forces would not have the opportunity to share actively in the administration of public affairs and the renewal of Czechsolovakia.

Poll Reports Public Enthusiasm for Elections

AU2702115390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Feb 90 p 2

[Jana Perglerova report: "The Majority Will Vote; Results of a Public Opinion Poll"]

[Text] Prague (From our own correspondent)—Almost one half of respondents (46 percent) said that, at the moment, they have a vague idea of the course of elections to the Federal Assembly and national councils to be held in June 1990.

Roughly one half of respondents (47 percent) showed a great deal of interest in reports about preparations for the elections. Forty percent of respondents, according to their own statements, are relatively interested in the reports, and 10 percent are slightly interested. Only three percent do not follow reports at all.

A quarter of citizens are almost certain about how they will vote, only seven percent are absolutely certain. Every fifth citizen (22 percent), at the moment, has no clear idea about the course of the elections. These figures emanate from a public opinion poll conducted from 31 January to 5 February by the Institute for Public Opinion Research. A representative cross section of CSSR citizens over the age of 15 replied to questions.

Men are more interested in reports about the course of the elections than women. Interest is greater among better educated groups.

Will people go to vote? This is a common topic of conversation at the moment. Seventy percent of respondents said they will definitely vote. "Yes," is more or less the answer of another 20 percent. Five percent are still undecided and, according to the poll's results, five percent will not go to vote.

Slovak Society Seeks Protection From Hungarians

AU2702163090 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Feb 90 p 5

[Letter from the Stur Society Coordinating Committee to the chairman of Slovak National Council and the Slovak premier; date not given: "Tolerance—Basis for Coexistence"]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Chairman of the Slovak National Council! Esteemed Mr. Premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic! We are addressing you, the foremost representatives of the highest Slovak bodies, on a matter, the recent development of which alarms us very much: It is the question of national relations in southern Slovakia. It follows unequivocally from the numerous letters and petitions being sent to us by Slovak citizens living in the southern Slovak districts (for example, Nove Zamky, Dunajska Streda, Komarno, etc.) that their situation is critical—they are discriminated against, humiliated, and slandered in their own country by the Hungarian minority and are driven out. We know and trust that not

all the Hungarian fellow citizens have hostile feelings against us, Slovaks, and we appreciate their loyalty and allegiance to the Slovak Socialist Republic or CSSR respectively. That is why we ask you, also in their interest and in the interest of maintaining a peaceful life and coexistence of citizens in southern Slovakia, to undertake fundamental, comprehensive, and decisive steps to solve this unbearable situation while respecting, at the same time, Slovak interests on the territory of the entire republic. We all are concerned about the destiny of Slovakia and that is why we must not allow the sovereignty of the Slovak Socialist Republic to be violated and Czechoslovak statehood questioned. This would inevitably lead to the striving for autonomy (or self-administration) of areas with a mixed population in southern Slovakia, from which point there is only a small step toward the revision of our southern state borders. We do not want a repetition of the 1938 events when the Slovak population on the territory occupied by Horthy's Hungary suffered and was exposed to the maximum oppression and violence. We do not want the past of the Hungarian state to return, when its policy on nationalities was inseparably connected with the magyarization of nonhungarian nationalities. We felt the severe impact of its 1,000-year-long yoke and still do. We must not allow history to repeat itself in this regard.

Calfa on Czech-Slovak Relations, Market Economy

AU2702114790 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 24 Feb 90 p 5

[Report on interview with Premier Marian Calfa by Martin Komarek in New York on 22 February— "We Do What We Want"]

[Text] While he was viewing modern art, Marian Calfa, CSSR premier, gave an interview to MLADA FRONTA right in front of Warhol's legendary portrait of Mao.

[MLADA FRONTA] Mr. Premier, in Canada we experienced some profound differences between Czech and Slovak elements among our local compatriots. A Canadian journalist belonging to an influential newspaper even wrote that this is the greatest problem facing the Czechoslovak Republic.

[Calfa] I think our compatriots are experiencing the problems of the period when they left Czechoslovakia. In the meantime, we have moved on; relations between Czechs and Slovaks have a different quality. We attempted to explain this to our compatriots. The problems which they brought up were not seen by us as topical or significant.

[MLADA FRONTA] Our government wants to implement the transfer to a market economy without great upheavals and shocks. Is this not at variance with the conditions set by the International Monetary Fund, which we want to join?

[Calfa] I think there is no great difference in this. We ourselves are striving for structural changes and, obviously, we will not avoid local structural unemployment. However, at the same time, we want to create conditions to ensure that the state looks after the temporarily unemployed. As far as the International Monetary Fund demanding structural changes from us is concerned, these will be no different from what we ourselves had already decided upon and what we want to implement. We have a concept for gradual steps to be chronologically phased in within seven to 10 years. In Canada and the United States we held a lot of talks with experts and we have made certain that we have a chance of succeeding in coming to terms with this process without great destabilization.

[MLADA FRONTA] It is well known that Americans have a lack of trust toward East Europe. Do you think our delegation's visit has altered this view?

This is more a question for Americans. We have merely confirmed that Americans understood the call made by our president in his speech to Congress. They understood his message, in which he conveyed to Americans where Central Europe is situated and where Czechoslovakia is situated. Experts on world affairs have confirmed that the atmosphere in which our delegation traveled is different from all previous ones. From this it may be seen that our hopes for altering the status of Czechoslovakia in American eyes have a good chance of fulfillment.

Pithart on Territorial Questions, Moravia

AU2702125390 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 23 Feb 90 pp 1, 3

["Text" of speech by Czech Socialist Republic Premier Petr Pithart at a session of the Czech National Council in Prague on 22 February: "Creating a Feeling of Being at Home"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The Czech state is not something that can be built from above, from this historical building, or from Prague in general. [passage omitted] The Czech state can come about only as a sum total of living, self-managed communities, as the sum total of local and regional autonomies. [passage omitted]

In this connection it is impossible not to think of Moravia, the smaller yet more colorful, diverse, complex, and—as regards the feeling of belonging to a piece of land—more vigorous half of the Czech republic.

I believe that only a fanatic Czech chauvinist can belittle the reinvigorated Moravian feelings because it is exactly the Moravian nature that could help the Czech nature find its somewhat own veiled face. On the other hand, one need not be a Czech chauvinist at all to get the impression from time to time that some Moravians are assiduously pushing at a door that is open. We are planning to change the administrative and territorial

arrangement of the state, which will lead to such a degree of autonomy as the people living in a given territory will require to meet not only their cultural but also their economic, social, and political interests. Let us leave it up to the people living in a given territory to decide the size of a territory that acquires autonomy in the future, simply by fulfilling the created scope, from the smallest to largest communities and up to the living whole, the borders of which cannot be determined administratively. Borders are not what matters most.

The people of the city of Brno believe that their grievances against Prague's centralism are fully warranted. Yet it is quite possible that people living in cities and towns to the north or east of Brno feel the same warranted distrust of Brno centralism. And it seems that people in northern and eastern Slovakia lament Bratislavan centralism. The fact is that we all complain about one and the same centralism and from this point of view it is fortuitous and irrelevant whether it is centralism from Prague, Brno, or Bratislava. I suppose that it is not only we in Prague who have known for decades that the true center of power was somewhere else, outside this republic, far to the east....

The entire economic, cultural, and political system was built on centralism and one sometimes gets the impression today that we have forgotten this, that—by stopping to see centralism as centralism and by seeing in it something that is typical of Prague, Brno, or Bratislava or even something that is nationally predetermined—we have lost a sense of judgment.

Of course, some things are easier to set right from centers of power, from places where resources and intellectual capacities are concentrated. From this viewpoint Brno rightly has the feeling that the center owes something to it. However, it is not Czech Prague that has downgraded the Moravian capital to the status of a provincial town. We know well from Masaryk that self-confidence grows from self-awareness. And, of course, one's share in the administration of one's own immediate affairs is connected with this.

In the Czech government we therefore consider the possibility of locating in Brno some institutions of statewide importance. I believe that there is nothing which stands in the way of locating one supreme court in Brno, in the spirit of old traditions. We also believe that Brno, as a city of entrepreneurial and mercantile traditions, as a city of trade fairs, should become a commercial center of republic-wide importance. The Central Tradesmen's Office [Ustredni zivnostensky urad] should perhaps be located in Brno. It would then be only logical for Brno to have its own status as a city of trade—not only foreign but also domestic trade.

We also assure you that, during the future new administrative division, the border between Czech and Moravian territorial entities—no matter what their dimension—will be drawn so as to conform with historical feeling and ethnic criteria. But it is here that the possibilities of what Prague can do end. Many of the problems that are the subject of heated discussions in Moravia today will be resolved by the new constitution of the Czech republic. I see no reason why this constitution, or its first outline, should be drafted in Prague. Brno, too, has its legal traditions; in Brno, too, there are people capable of writing a constitution. It is perhaps in Moravia that ideas about a new territorial and administrative division of the state should spring up—precisely because Moravia is so diverse and heterogeneous, as I mentioned a while ago.

I believe, in general, that waiting for someone somewhere to make a decision after we send him a resolution and turn to him with our demands is a relic of the system that we want to abandon. Without realizing it, we are somehow still captives of this system.

When I observe the exasperated Moravian discussions and the Czech side's reactions to these discussions, which betray suspicion, it occurs to me that the old way of thinking and old stereotypes are diverting our attention from something much more important than Czech-Moravian-Silesian relations. If there is someone to whom all of us owe something, it is the people who give our republic heat and light, figuratively speaking—the inhabitants of North Bohemia and North Moravia. They live and work in a landscape scarred with deep and open pit mines, in a landscape that is inhuman from every point of view, in the dust and grayness of a contaminated atmosphere. [passage omitted] It is primarily these people who deserve our concern and solidarity. [passage omitted]

This should be the primary concern of the citizens of the Czech republic—whether they live in Prague or Brno, Olomouc or Budejovice, Zlin or Karlovy Vary. This question is much more important than the problem of where the broken line of borders on the map of Bohemia and Moravia should run. I will say frankly what I believe: If we fail to agree on this shared concern, we have nothing to do in Europe. Let us demonstrate our maturity by showing that we can distinguish the substantial from the immaterial. Let us seek and regard highly that which unites us and not that which divides us. [passage omitted]

State Bank Official Releases Debt Figures

AU2702115590 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Feb 90 p 4

[CTK report: "Our Debt"]

[Text] Prague— Czechoslovakia's gross indebtedness in the currencies of capitalist states, i.e. the sum total of all our liabilities, amounts to less than $8 billion. We have no government debts as we have never taken any credits of this type. The CSSR's so-called net position is slightly in surplus, with our assets being somewhat higher than our debts. Some Czechoslovak claims belong, however, to the category of so-called "frozen" claims. The present

amount of these claims can be estimated, very roughly, at $1.5 billion, Jaromir Zahradnik, deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak State Bank, told CTK.

Jaromir Zahradnik said, furthermore: "Western financiers always evaluate gross debts and these are not unsustainable, so far, in the per capita ratio. The servicing of our debt, which expresses the degree to which an economy is capable of coping with the repayment of credits, has not yet crossed the magic limit of 20 percent of [the value of] annual exports. However, this is no reason to increase the debt further."

Minister Advocates Phasing Out Nuclear Power

AU2702172090 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 27 Feb 90 p 4

[Interview with Environment Minister Bedrich Moldan by Michael Lohmeyer; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] [Lohmeyer] In northwestern Bohemia the gap is widening between environmentalists and those who fear for their jobs in the coal mines. How can these tensions be eased?

[Moldan] The situation in the Erzgebirge mountain range is indeed not very good. However, the most difficult problem really lies somewhere else. The people in northwestern Bohemia, who suffer most from the sulfur dioxide emissions, are losing their patience. They have the illusion that one could quickly improve the environmental situation and they are convinced that, at the cost of their health—and sometimes even their lives—energy and products are produced there for the rest of the CSSR citizens. [passage omitted]

[Lohmeyer] Let us now talk about nuclear energy: Do you personally support the further development of nuclear power plants?

[Moldan] Of course I would prefer it if there were not any nuclear power plants at all. However, we must put up with this reality. Thus, it would not make any sense to demand the immediate and absolute abandoning of nuclear power, nor would it make much sense to continue as in the past. This leaves us with three other possibilities: Do not complete the half-finished plants and shut down the two nuclear power plants that already work (Bohunice and Dukovany); or connect Temelin and Balhutovice to the grid, with the condition that we completely phase out nuclear energy within three decades. Finally, the third alternative: We continue to advocate this form of energy and develop a safe technology. I am rather in favor of completing what we have begun and phasing out nuclear energy after a transition period. [passage omitted]

Demonstrators Protest Kecerovce Nuclear Plant

AU2702142390 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Feb 90 p 2

[CTK report: "Against the Nuclear Plant"]

[Text] Kosice—A protest demonstration against the construction of the nuclear power plant in Kecerovce, and against nuclear power technology in general, organized by Ekoforum, attached to the Public Against Violence movement, was held in Kosice yesterday. As the main arguments against the nuclear plant, speakers put forward the high population density in the plant's vicinity (some 400,000 people), the severe shortage of water in the Kosice basin, the nuclear waste problem, and others. They proposed a new power technology program based mainly on cutting down power consumption in the economy and a more intensive utilization of alternative sources. They also demanded full and truthful information for the public on the state of preparations for construction in Kecerovce and a referendum on its future destiny. At the end of the meeting a petition to the Slovak government was read; the petition has been signed by 35,000 Kosice citizens and demands a moratorium on the entire project.

CPSL Executive Committee Meets in Bratislava

AU2702114390 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Feb 90 p 1

["(PA)"-signed report: "The CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee Has Held a Session"]

[Text] Bratislava—At its session yesterday the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee Executive Committee discussed the actual political situation in Slovakia. It analyzed in particular the activity of the party and its organs in the developing pluralist political system. In harmony with the views of CPSL action and district committees, it stated that tension, accompanied by attacks on the CPSL, on its rank and file members, and especially on its information media, still persists in society. At variance with the declared level of tolerance, the CPSL's access to vital mass communication media is still being blocked. On the basis of information about the political situation in districts, the CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee considered specific suggestions which will enable them to improve the quality and efficiency of their activity. The CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee expects that discussions between party members and those sympathetic to it apropos the published principles of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia's election program will develop intensively.

The CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee expressed its agreement with the establishment of a CPSL Central Committee commission with responsibility for working with young Communists. It discussed some material for today's second CPSL Central Committee session and also topical issues concerning the party's preparations for the elections. The CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee made note of a CPSL Central Control and Audit Commission report on the management of financial affairs at the Biela Skala recreation center.

Charter-77 for 'Regeneration of Civic Morality'

LD2802100190 Prague CTK in English 1800 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 27 (CTK)—"The losses and errors in economy may be retrieved sooner or later, but the recovery from moral devastation of society or individuals and regeneration of civic morality take much more time and require more pains and energy," a statement of the Charter 77 Initiative on the February 1948 events in Czechoslovakia, published here Tuesday, said.

The revolution which has started in Czechoslovakia on November 17, 1989 was non-violent indeed, but freedom and democracy have been redeemed by suffering and physical liquidation of thousands of known and unknown citizens under the totalitarian regime, the statement said.

The document pointed out that after the February 1948 violent coup the Czechoslovak Communist Party usurped all power and took control of all fields of political, economic and cultural life of the Czechoslovak society, which had fallen into a deep crisis for many years.

The Charter 77 initiative underlined the necessity of bringing up generations of people in Czechoslovakia for whom freedom and democracy would not mean only prosperous economy, material abundance and a high living standard, but an inevitable self-evidence they would not renounce at any cost [as received].

Chairwoman of Electoral Commission Elected

AU2602183390 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Feb 90 p 1

[ADN report: "Electoral Commission Established"]

[Text] East Berlin—The 30-member GDR Electoral Commission elected Berlin research student Petra Blaess from the Independent Women's Association as the commission's chairwoman on 22 February. Juliane Juerk (Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany) and Lutz Ahnfeld (Free German Youth), were elected as deputy chairpersons, and Hans-Andreas Schoenfeldt (Free German Youth) and Peter Bickardt (Democracy Now) were elected as press spokesmen.

The constituent session of the commission, which was elected by the People's Chamber on 20 February, was headed by Parliamentary President Guenther Maleuda. At the Council of Ministers' official building, four of the five members of the electoral commission's independent Presidium attended the commission's first session (Kurt Masur, who is also a Presidium member, was abroad).

The electoral commission decided to establish voting districts for GDR citizens working abroad.

Commission Begins 2d Session

LD2802094690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0903 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR electoral commission began its second session in Berlin this morning. Under the leadership of Chairwoman Petra Blaess of the Independent Women's Union, the body was first advised in closed session of the progress in the examination of the documents and statements of the parties, other political associations, and electoral alliances taking part in the selections, in accordance with paragraph 6, section 1 of the election regulations.

In addition, decisions are to be taken on the determination and announcement of the provisional results of the People's Chamber elections on 18 March and on the timing and the publication of the final election results.

Military Reform Roundtable Adopts Principles

LD2702231290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2129 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR's future military-political principles were unanimously confirmed on Tuesday evening in Berlin by the roundtable on military reform. The document, which establishes the preservation of peace in Europe as the supreme principle of GDR military policy, is due to be handed over without delay to the People's Chamber. The paper contains all essential thoughts that found agreement among the representatives of about 20 parties, organizations, democratic movements, and church institutions. Among the essential statements is that the GDR rejects the threat and use of military force to solve controversial issues between states and peoples. The GDR will not be the first to start military actions either alone or in the alliance. Further principles refer to disarmament and military confidence building, and the necessity, character, and mission, as well as the structure, of the NVA [National People's Army].

Major General Olivier Anders, Civil Work Administration [Verwaltung Staatsbuergerliche Arbeit] head, informed the participants at the roundtable on the tasks and working method of this new administration in the Defense Ministry. He reported that the former political bodies in the NVA have been dissolved since 15 February. The objective of civil work resulted from the fundamental requirement to integrate the NVA organically into the developing GDR democratic state system and to motivate military service in accordance with the constitutional mission. The NVA's democratic restructuring into an army of the entire people without party political and one-sided, world-view connections is a decisive condition for the fulfillment of the constitutional mission.

The participants made the recommendation that the roundtable on military reform be continued after the People's Chamber elections because the new parliament will also have much to do with the burden of problems on this topic. Security and military policy are sensitive areas for the well-being of the people. The roundtable has proven itself with regard to the creation of transparency and consensus capability. The body feels, as part of society, that it is co-responsible for the development of defense motivation among Army members.

People's Chamber Presidium Discusses Agenda

LD2702203790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1741 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The People's Chamber Presidium discussed at its session on Tuesday the draft agenda for the GDR parliament's 18th session convened for 6 and 7 March. Discussion and a decision on the law on trade union rights in the GDR and the required change in the Constitution will be of special importance.

The comprehensive program forsees discussion and decisions on the electoral law for the district diets, town deputies assemblies, city borough assemblies, and communal representations, and also laws on property rights concerning land reform, changes to the LPG [Agricultural Producer Cooperative] law, and a commerce law for the GDR.

SPD's Boehme Discusses Plans for Government

LD2702223490

[Editorial Report] East Berlin Television Service in German at 0902 GMT on 27 February broadcasts a six-minute report on the recent Social Democratic Party

[SPD] four-day Congress in Leipzig presented by the program's regular female presenter and a male correspondent.

The piece consists of an audio reportage of the course of the congress interspersed with music. Brief interviews with Chairman Ibrahim Boehme and Deputy Chairman Markus Meckel—presumably at the congress—are also given.

The reportage emphasizes the SPD's confidence in the run-up to the election, as shown by the congress, and sums up the proposals made by Boehme on a timetable for German unity. A SPD majority would be needed to implement it.

The first brief interview with Ibrahim Boehme concerns the linking of party and government posts.

The correspondent asks: "In one hand, the party chairmanship and the chairmanship of the government?"

Boehme replies: "I would say, first of all, in normal times I would definitely insist on the division of the offices. This was our idea on 7 October; if you look at our initial statute, it stresses this division. But the situation following 18 March will involve taking so many vital decisions in a short time that there will be a linking of certain offices."

The correspondent traces the party's development from its beginings in small illegal gatherings to one with a good chance of taking over the government. This will need a team. He asks: "Have you already jotted down a shadow cabinet?"

Boehme responds: "Yes".

Correspondent: "Can you name names."

Boehme: "Well, in a cabinet for which Boehme shares responsibility there will be definitely be a Walter Romberg and with great probability a (?Marie-Elisabeth Luetterson)."

The correspondent profiles Markus Meckel, whom he also tips for a ministerial post. He then questions Meckel: "Mr. Meckel, you are now the No. 2 in the SPD, a man who was there at the start. Has the work begun?"

Meckel replies: "The work began last autumn. We have now been given a confirmation that this work will continue. The Executive has been newly elected. It will certainly be constituted this afternoon. We have a lot of plans. We must structure the work in the [word indistinct] as the Executive's work, prepare ourselves for government work, try to prepare a future parliamentary group for parliamentary work in the coming weeks, and discuss a program of laws and concrete government plans because we are expecting to be involved in a future government, and we must enter this work with clear ideas."

However, Boehme and Meckel are keeping quiet about how things may develop, the correspondent says.

The report concludes with the following comment by Boehme: "For me the first step will be to do nothing—to sleep for two days—and then to dream about the coalition."

SPD Deputy Plans Withdrawal From Protests

LD2702212990 East Berlin Deutschlandsender Network in German 1500 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Karl-August Kamilli, GDR Social Democratic Party [SPD] deputy chairman, announced today that the new democratic forces intend to withdraw from the Leipzig Monday demonstrations. The reason for this shared view is the dominant nationalistic emotions there. It must be admitted, Kamilli said in the Bonn parliamentary political press service, that some early naive democratic dreams have been dispelled. The right-wing bloc parties have positions that do not accord with the basic consensus of the early reform forces. The SPD politician affirmed his party's position that it wishes to realize the new Germany with its neighbors and not to permit an expansion of NATO to the Polish western border.

Republicans Say District Association Formed

LD2702135790 Hamburg DPA in German 1328 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Bonn (DPA)—The right-wing radical Republikaner, banned in the GDR as a result of a decision by the People's Chamber, has founded a district association in Karl-Marx-Stadt (formerly Chemnitz). The spokesman for the Republikaner federal office, Ralph Lorenz, announced this in Bonn today. "As a democratic party, we will not be excluded anywhere," Lorenz said.

The founding members called upon the GDR Government to ensure that the Republikaner "are given a real chance" of participating in the People's Chamber elections on 18 March. [passage omitted]

Interior Ministry Denial

LD2702162890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1434 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Bonn/Berlin (ADN)—According to AP, the neo-Nazi Republicans, who are banned in the GDR, founded a district association in Karl-Marx-Stadt during the weekend. Their Bonn office spokesman, Ralph Lorenz, said today that as "a democratic party we will not allow ourselves to be excluded anywhere." AP said on 26 February that the "extreme right-wing party had announced in West Berlin that its Brandenburg Land Association had registered the party for the elections in a letter to the Interior Ministry."

ADN has learned from the GDR Interior Ministry that the Karl-Marx-Stadt Area authorities know nothing

about the founding of a district association. Nor had the ministry received a letter in which a Brandenburg Land Association had asked to be registered for the People's Chamber elections. Moreover, under the law on parties, the Interior Ministry is not responsible for the registration of a party for the People's Chamber elections.

FRG Agriculture Minister Attends DSU Rally

AU2302101890 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Feb 90 p 3

[ADN report: "Land Reform Must Not Be Canceled"]

[Text] Brand-Erbisdorf—According to FRG Agriculture Minister Kiechle, the first land reform after World War II cannot be canceled. At a German Social Union [DSU] election rally at the Burgersdorf Cooperative on 20 February, the CSU [Christian Social Union] official stated that peasants who want to leave cooperatives must have the right to do so.

FRG Politicians Address Election Rallies

LD2602225390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1905 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Potsdam (ADN)—At several rallies in Potsdam and Brandenburg today politicians from the FRG intervened in the election campaign of GDR parties. At a rally held by the DSU [German Social Union] at the Potsdam Karl Liebknecht Forum, outraged demonstrators interrupted the Bavarian CSU [Christian Social Union] secretary general, Erwin Huber, when he was speaking and called on him to leave the GDR. Outside the Nikolaikirche one hour later, SPD [Social Democratic Party] politicians Herbert Schnoor, interior minister of North Rhine-Westphalia, and Dietrich Stobbe, former governing mayor of Berlin (West), both spoke. Eberhard Diepgen, West Berlin CDU [Christian Democratic Union] chairman, also addressed the local people during a CDU event in Brandenburg.

The SPD politicians appealed to the GDR citizens to participate vigorously in the GDR's reconstruction. Schnoor said, "We cannot build homes for GDR citizens in North Rhine-Westphalia. We have to build the homes here in the GDR and all GDR citizens are needed for this."

The rallies' real concern—to present candidates for the People's Chamber elections on 18 March—became a side issue as a result of the election speeches made by Western politicians, who repeatedly received applause from the listeners. Without significant differences in their programmatic remarks, SPD and CDU leading candidates called for a united Germany on the basis of a monetary and economic union with social safeguards. Similarly, they called on the citizens to vote under no circumstances for the PDS [Party for Democratic Socialism] on 18 March.

DSU Contests Election Law

AU2702101890 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 27 Feb 90 p 1

["da"-signed report: "Election Date in GDR in Danger?"]

[Text] Bonn—on 26 February, a quarrel broke out in East Berlin about the publication of the new GDR election law. The German Social Union (DSU) wants to file a constitutional complaint against the election law, which was passed on 20 February. The party announced that it wants to stop the election date of 18 March. In a letter to the People's Chamber Presidium, the DSU complains that the election law has not yet been published and is not known to them. The publication of the text is the precondition for the law to become legally effective. The East Berlin bookstore for official documents, on the other hand, announced that the Legal Gazette with the election law has arrived —80 copies have been sold since 23 February.

The GDR People's Chamber Presidium has to decide on the constitutional complaint against the GDR election law within 14 days. Since there is no constitutional court in the GDR, the DSU does not have recourse to law if a decision that is negative for it is made, an East Berlin Justice Ministry spokesman explained. The DSU can, however, make an application to the State Council. The parties and political associations that want to participate in the elections on 18 March had to make their applications to the People's Chamber president by 26 February.

The Independent People's Party (UVP) has filed a complaint with the prosecutor general against Gregor Gysi, Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) chairman, on the grounds of suspicion of concealment of party property. The Auditing Committee report at the first congress of the then-SED-PDS [Social Unity Party of Germany-PDS] under Gysi's leadership in December dealt with the party property only superficially. The former SED announced the ownership of Zentrag, Dewag, book publishing houses, and Intertext; however, the report does not show which print shops, record and book publishing houses, advertising companies, and interpreters' facilities belong to this. There is also no indication of the party's real estate property and no list of what became the SED's property and in which way it became so, nor what originally belonged to the Socialist Party of Germany (SPD) at the time of the merger between the SPD and the Communist Party of Germany. At the end of January, at the party's Executive Committee session, Gysi said that he had meanwhile acquired a party property list (however, nothing was published).

In the People's Chamber, the PDS approved the draft of a party law, according to which it would be obligated (like all other parties) to give a public accountability report by 30 June on the property and revenues and expenditures in 1989. According to this draft law, by

December 1991 the PDS would have to give up any property that does not serve the formation of political will.

Democratic Awakening Chairman Criticizes SPD

LD2502165890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1523 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Anyone wanting to take on political responsibility in the GDR of 1990 must be in a position rapidly to introduce the economic reforms needed for survival. However, the Social Democratic Party [SPD] made it frighteningly clear at its congress that it has no economic concept, Democratic Awakening Chairman Wolfgang Schnur said in a statement passed to ADN today. The SPD's so-called schedule for German unity is, unfortunately, lacking in concrete details as to how urgent economic problems can be solved. As a result, the SPD has itself denied its ability to govern.

He described the statements made by Bundesbank President Poehl as a "great sign of hope for the citizens in this part of Germany." The people in the GDR should stop ransacking their savings deposits and exchanging hard-earned money at black-market rates.

Regarding the ever increasing fears among the population of social hardship in the GDR, Schnur said Chancellor Kohl had given an assurance in Erfurt that neither pensioners nor savers had anything to fear, and that people who might temporarily lose their jobs will be cared for. In addition, he knew from conversations with the responsible ministers in Bonn that concrete measures are already being made to ensure social safeguards in the GDR.

Urges Zero Option

LD2602092790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0757 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—GDR Democratic Awakening Chairman Wolfgang Schnur has demanded a zero option for short-range weapons in Europe. These weapons are superfluous because the enemy concepts of the last few years no longer exist, Schnur notes in DIE WELT newspaper today.

"Who can tell me today at whom the short-range weapons are now to be fired? At our friends in Poland perhaps? Or at the people in the CSSR? The peaceful revolution in East Europe has made these weapons meaningless."

Schnur calls upon Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl to give the initiative for this important disarmament measure. Moscow, too, should move in the same direction, the politician states.

Christian League Forms, Elects Officials

LD2602233690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2005 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Karl-Marx-Stadt (ADN)—The Christian League [Christliche Liga] in the GDR—the Party for Life—was founded in Lengenfeld in the Vogtland (Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk) on 24-25 February, ADN learned today. Baden-Wuerttemberg Land Chairman Ewald Jacksch spoke on the theme "the political responsibility of Christians," and then Dr. Herbert Voelkl, FRG Christian League national chairman, spoke about the aims and contents of the league's policies.

The participants in the founding meeting elected Pastor Rudolf Tapken (Eich) as chairman, and housewife Regina Kurzbach and engineer Christoph Gerhardt as his deputies. Engineer Manfred Hoentsch was appointed business manager.

The members also gave their assent to the proposed draft program, with which the league aims to set itself a clear alternative to the statements of the other parties in the GDR by taking God's 10 Commandments as the basis of their political action.

Party Youth Groups Form Action 'Ring'

LD2802094590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1549 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A "Political Youth Ring" (PJR) has been formed in Berlin from members of the Christian-Democratic Youth (CDJ), the Young Liberal Action (JULIA), and the Young Social Democrats. A press statement issued Tuesday says the aim of this founding is "to take together active measures to prevent anti-democratic influences on the young generation and to make impossible any renewed political misuse of the youth." The PJR represents "the concerns of party political youth groups on the territory of the present GDR." It does not have the character or the tasks of an autonomous organization.

DBD Chairman Addresses Election Conference

LD2402170890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1543 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Schwerin (ADN)—The Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany (DBD), would consistently represent the interests of those who feel closely tied to life in the countryside and to nature. The program decided on at the extraordinary party congress was a guideline and commitment to this. This was noted by DBD Chairman Dr. Guenther Maleuda on Saturday at an election conference of his party in Schwerin.

The participants from all areas of the republic adopted the election program, with which the DBD calls among other things for a democratic and humanistic society, for popular sovereignty and state legality, and for a social and ecologically oriented market economy.

It is not the intention of the DBD to join in alliance with other parties or organizations before the elections, First Deputy Chairman Ulrich Junghanns said. Nor will it rely in the election campaign on political references or on support of any kind from the FRG. It does not want to call its own identity into question and be predictable for any possible coalition partner.

Berlin FDP Rejects League of Free Democrats

AU2402143490 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Feb 90 p 2

[Text] On 17 February, the Berlin Free Democratic Party decided to desist from participating in the "League of Free Democrats" and nominated five candidates for a list of its own.

Independent Social Democratic Party Forms

AU2302160790 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 19 Feb 90 p 3

[ADN/BZ report: "USPD For New Priorities in Social Policy"]

[Text] The Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany (USPD) founding congress assembled in Fuerstenberg/Havel on 17 February.

Dr. Steffen Hultsch was elected chairman of the provisional executive committee, which will head the party until the congress in June. The 45-year-old Dr. Hultsch is a lecturer at the Potsdam Law and Administration College. The delegates discussed a program and adopted a statute. A document of national responsibility was rejected. It is to be published after the elections in a revised form.

"The USPD is a party with a future that delineates itself clearly from any leftist and rightist extremism and that is looking for relations with the left parties and, in particular, with the Social Democratic Party [SPD]," said Martin Deuss of the founding committee. It feels closely linked with the traditional leftist social democratic legacy, struggles in the GDR for democratic socialism, and is striving for close cooperation with the SPD in the GDR on the basis of common basic values. The party's focal issue are social values.

The speakers in the discussion advocated differing views concerning the People's Chamber elections. Some even advocated the party's abstention. The participants in the founding congress decided that the USPD will participate in the elections. They rejected an election alliance with the Party of Democratic Socialism. Such an alliance with leftist groups is left to the regional leaderships.

The USPD will apply for observer status at the central roundtable. With a view to the free, just, and democratic society, which the party is striving for, Dr. Hultsch stressed that law and democracy deserve utmost attention in the future. He emphasized that new priorities have to be set in social policy that promote the connection between performance for society and benefits provided by society as a motive power.

NDPD Presents Election Platform

LD2502164890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1439 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Today in the Berlin Congress Hall, the National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD] presented its election platform. People's Chamber NDPD candidates, including Party Chairman Wolfgang Rauls and his deputy, Gunter Hartmann, as well as party ministers, made commitments to the voters. Wolfgang Rauls gave the assurance that the party of the center is in favor of democracy, freedom, justice, humanity, and social security.

The NDPD has worked out an eight-point plan for German unity. This couples economic and monetary union with a social union and calls for the formation of a pan-German chamber of laender.

According to Rauls, the GDR is not for the taking "in the winter sales," since it has both industrious and well-qualified people and material values to contribute, as well as ethical, intellectual, and cultural possessions. Social achievements such as school meals, day homes, creches, and kindergartens should be preserved. Discontinued state subsidies must also had be compensated for, according to the individual cases.

Peasant Party Makes Election Broadcast

LD2302223690

[Editorial Report] East Berlin Television Service in German at 1850 GMT on 23 February carries an election address on behalf of the GDR Democratic Peasant Party (DBD) by DBD Chairman Guenther Maleuda, with Regine (Melcher) DBD Executive member, and Horst Schroeder, DBD Presidium member.

The unidentified presenter begins by saying that GDR television is not responsible for the broadcast's content.

Next, the presenter asks Maleuda about the renewal of his party. Maleuda says the party has a new program, is renewing itself, and stands for legal security, freedom, human rights, and equality of opportunity. It is mainly a farmers' party, but it also represents those who feel bound up with the countryside and support a better environment and better food. The DBD is for a united Germany in a democratic Europe.

Schroeder says that the start-up of the market economy is important, then German rapprochement, but only as quickly as conditions in the common European home allow. Melcher says that she thinks there should be monetary union and an economic community as soon as possible. She stresses that the GDR has things that are

worth preserving such as the farmers' ownership of land, and the rights of land users, as well as cultural and ethical values.

Maleuda says that the two German states must prepare the ground for unification and that the basis for this must be created in legislation. On the issue of a peace treaty, he says he sees this in the context of the unification of Europe. He does not see it as something urgent.

On the market economy, Schroeder says that it should be socially and ecologically oriented. However, the market economy in the FRG does not fulfill all their wishes. The farmers will have to master difficult tasks. He thinks the cooperative farms will have a good chance. He says that on some farms there are too many employees and that in the past the GDR's national economy was not in a position to supply the farmers with the necessary equipment.

A radical economic reform as well as monetary union are necessary prerequisites for the market economy. They call for savings to be exchanged with the Deutsche mark on a one-to-one ratio. Enterprises should be saved from becoming insolvent, thereby causing unemployment. The public should be given a chance to participate in the state sector. They see all forms of ownership taking part in the economy but want cooperative ownership to dominate agriculture. The cooperatives should take on new areas such as food processing so that the farmers receive a greater share of the price of the final product than farmers in the FRG.

He concludes by saying that the DBD does not intend to form an electoral pact and will not make any commitments on possible coalition partners until after the elections.

Free Democratic Party Presents Program

LD2302152590 East Berlin Television Service in German 1850 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Free Democratic Party (FDP) political party broadcast with FDP Laender Council Chairman Dr. Bruno Menzel; (Peter Tietz), FDP Laender Council deputy chairman; (Alexander Halamel), Mecklenburg Land Association deputy chairman; hosted by unidentified moderator; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] [Moderator] [passage omitted] I would like to welcome to my right, the Free Democratic Party [FDP] Laender Council chairman, Dr. Bruno Menzel. Dr. Menzel is an internist and senior consultant for the Dessau Area hospital medical clinic. To my left is his deputy, Mr. (Peter Tietz), FDP Laender Council deputy chairman, an engineer and employee of the Academy of Sciences here in Berlin. Next to him is (Alexander Halamel), Mecklenburg Land Association deputy chairman. [passage omitted]

[Menzel] We see Germany's development as a unified state firmly embedded in the European unification process. We believe that this will not be possible without the development of a unified Europe, a European federal state. So far, it has been evident that the developments in the two German states have been largely influenced by Europe as a whole and world polititics. We are now living in a very interesting period where this process is starting to be reversed. We are finding that as a result of the opening of the Wall, Germany is starting to play an active role, and we see that developments here are going at a faster pace than it was thought they would just a few months ago. This positive development toward a unified Germany will now also have a positive effect on European developments. The growing together of the European states into a united Europe will now proceed more quickly than would have been the case without this development in Germany. A very important element is that we do not go it alone in this development but take into account the very justified security interests of our neighboring states. We recognize the very problematic area of the border with Poland; we firmly support the statement made by [FRG Vice Chancellor] Hans-Dietrich Genscher that an inalienable border exists here that must on no account be called into question in the case of German unification.

We would, however, like to reiterate here that the fears that may now exist in the neighboring European countries really are unfounded, particularly with regard to a unified Germany. No danger has in fact ever emanated from a united, democratic Germany. The danger only ever existed when we had fascism, and democratic conditions did not exist. This development here on German soil in the two German states is so irreversible that there really need be no fears here in Europe.

I would would perhaps also stress that it could not be otherwise; a united Europe cannot be achieved while leaving out Germany. The division of Germany cannot be maintained while striving for a united Europe. That is a contradiction of terms and would be a continual source of unrest and is unthinkable. I would like to conclude with a quote by Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who formulated this very well in one sentence. He said: "We don't want a German Europe, we want a European Germany."

[Moderator] The second important aspect that interests voters is the economic policy that your party wants to pursue. What economic policy concept does the FDP pursue?

[Menzel] The Liberals steadfastly support the social market economy with economic obligations. In order that economic reform takes hold as soon as possible, the Liberals have from the start aimed for an economic and monetary union with a simultaneous relinquishing of monetary sovereignty to the Bundesbank, since it alone can create the preconditions for a rapid improvement in the economy. The present economic (?climate) is regarded as inadequate by the Liberals. One has to say that quite clearly. We regard all forms of ownership as

being of equal importance, although with a predominance of private ownership. We Liberals demand the import of capital and pursue with West German and foreign investors [passage indistinct] also in our country so that every citizen has an interest in remaining here in his country, where he was born. We are convinced that this will bring about a rapid economic upturn, not only for the GDR, but for the whole of Germany and Europe.

In connection with the concept of the social market economy, we would particularly like to stress that this is where the Liberals' priority lies. That is, the creativity of the individual and performance motivation is encouraged. However, this also means that everyone is as far as possible responsible for himself and is himself [word indistinct] for emergencies. On the other hand, and we Liberals would like to emphasize this, every individual who cannot cope [passage indistinct] will receive social security. I am particularly thinking of cases of illness, the unemployed, and pensioners. It should no longer be the case that a pensioner should have to live on a minimum pension of 330 marks and have no money to buy a pair of shoes and coat in one month and, moreover, after a long working life. We are also thinking of the many single women because in our state we have a high degree of emancipation with many of them bringing up children on their own. It is inconceivable that they should be in a position to meet these demands in every way. The operative word is kindergarten and if a woman wants to work, then it must be possible within the framework of social conditions for her to happily pursue a career. We Liberals regard the social market economy as practiced in the FRG almost 40 years as a guarantee of this, as a path that must now be sought. That is proven and anyone can convince themselves of its successes in the past and in everyday life.

[Moderator] Regarding the economy in the future or present, social fears play quite a major role. How would you counter those social fears in your policy?

[Menzel] Yes, you're quite right and I must say that over the past few days I have felt more and more that our people, who bear such uncertainty with all the things happening to them, have fears. That applies in particular to our pensioners and it also applies to people who are in a state of uncertainty in the present climate because they don't know what will happen to the enterprises in which they now work. I would like to say to all our citizens that these fears are unjustified. Liberal policy, as I have said, is based on the principle that the socially weak should receive social security. It is obvious that with a currency reform, pensions will be raised when price controls are lifted and it is obvious that unemployment money will have to be raised, with a particular emphasis on retraining schemes. I would also like to say to everyone that it will undoubtedly be the case that with the restructuring of enterprises there will be a temporary layoff of the labor force that will very quickly be reintegrated into the labor market through retraining, but in that time people will have to be covered completely through social security. That is an indispensible condition that we as Liberals raise. I would like to tell savers that they need have no fears about their accounts and they should please not do anything rash with regard to their accounts. We Liberals insist that no monetary reform should take place. It would be asking the impossible of our people, who have had to live and work, and work diligently, under impossible conditions for 40 years, if what they have saved in those years is lost in any way. An absolute principle of our policy is that there will be no monetary reform; savings accounts are safe. [passage omitted]

Democracy Now Spokesman Discusses Policies

AU1702181490 Hamburg BILD in German
16 Feb 90 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Democracy Now spokesman Konrad Weiss by BILD reporters Peter Bartels, Hans-Hermann Tiedje, Peter Brinkmann, and Lothar Schindlbeck; place and date not given]

[Text] [BILD] You put on the brakes when the unity of Germany is at issue.

[Weiss] Yes to unity, no to reunification. Unity must not be a nosedive. First we have to develop our democracy. Here I expect the FRG to exercise restraint.

[BILD] But the GDR is broke!

[Weiss] Nonsense. It is ailing, but it is not finished. The people are important, they should have a chance. It is like a marriage with a weak partner. It never works in the long run. First of all, I want to work in a free People's Chamber, later in a joint German parliament.

[BILD] Should everything wait for better times for years?

[Weiss] Forty years of the GDR were difficult, but also beautiful. I learned to struggle. But many who are calling now for reunification rejoiced with the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] about the division before.

[BILD] Should the Wall remain?

[Weiss] I would immediately pull it down. We want a protected ecological area in the former death zone. The crosses for those that lost their lives there should stand there.

[BILD] What part of the GDR must by no means perish?

[Weiss] Our cultural identity, our specific experience, our tradition. The GDR citizens should buy land, real estate property, and staff shares with their savings. We need the help of all Europeans for the process of reorganization. We must learn many things. For example, a free enterprise system. I also want to revive the cooperative idea.

[BILD] What about those who were forced to give up their land?

[Weiss] The peasant who cultivated it for 40 years should continue to own it. Democracy Now wants the land to be first "reserved" to GDR citizens.

[BILD] What is your opinion on the Oder-Neisse border?

[Weiss] A clear yes. Here I fail to ascertain a clear attitude on the part of the Federal Government. The two German states are occupied countries. Unity can only be laid down in a European peace treaty, as part of the CSCE process.

[BILD] What about the capital?

[Weiss] Berlin, of course.

[BILD] What do you think of Mr. Hans Modrow?

[Weiss] He is a captain who has to steer a lopsided ship into the harbor of free elections.

[BILD] And Wolfgang Berghofer?

[Weiss] ...is disqualified by his role in the electoral fraud of May 1989.

[BILD] What about the enormous SED property?

[Weiss] It must become the basis of an independent GDR unemployment insurance.

[BILD] What about the teachers of Marxism?

[Weiss] They can be retrained. Why should an officer of the State Security Service or the People's Army not be able to become a male nurse? One cannot declare all to be criminals. The point is that we have to do this sad work together.

[BILD] You are an "Alliance 90" candidate. For what coalition are you striving?

[Weiss] I am in favor of a coalition with the Social Democratic Party of Germany under Ibrahim Boehme. Another connection is out of question. I think that we will achieve approximately 10 percent.

[BILD] Do you want to become a minister?

[Weiss] I would like to become Germany minister or minister for cooperation in solidarity. The task of the minister for disarmament and defense would also be fascinating. Then I would dissolve the People's Army and would return to my profession of director after six months to make films again.

German Forum Party Supports Election Alliance

AU2302130290 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 20 Feb 90 p 2

[ADN/BZ report: "German Forum Party for Election Alliance"]

[Text] East Berlin—The German Forum Party [DFP] Executive Committee approves its joining with the Free Democratic Party in the GDR and the Liberal Democratic Party in an election alliance, "League of Free Democrats," a press release says. At the same time, it is stressed that the DFP will maintain its independence in the league. Only a broad alliance of all liberal, conservative, and Christian forces can achieve a clear majority, in the DFP's view. At the same time, the DFP Executive Committee wants to cooperate constructively with the parties represented in the "Alliance for Germany" election alliance.

FRG's Suessmuth Addresses CDU Rally

AU2702112990 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 23 Feb 90 p 2

[NZ report: "The System Has Failed Here"]

[Excerpts] Magdeburg—The Christian Democratic Union [CDU] knows what it wants, as do an increasing number of citizens. Not the least for this reason, tens of thousands of them attend the election rallies of a party that is renewing itself from within and applaud enthusiastically the words of CDU Chairman Lothar de Maiziere, most recently in the crammed market square of Stendal. [passage omitted]

Bundestag President Rita Suessmuth was received with great warmth at the CDU rally in Stendal. Amid strong applause and cheers, the politician stated among other things: "Here in your country and in other East European states, it was not individuals that failed but the system." For this reason, with a majority of votes for the "Alliance for Germany" on 18 March, the right course must finally be embarked on. In this connection, the most important thing is self- respect. "Then we will achieve a great deal jointly," the Bundestag president pointed out.

PDS Hopes for More Than 10 Percent of Vote

LD2702113990 Hamburg DPA in German 1121 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—The Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS], the former Socialist Unity Party of Germany state party, has at its disposal 5.5 million GDR marks for the election campaign, Campaign Manager Andre Brie told journalists this in East Berlin today. Some three weeks before the People's Chamber elections on 18 March, the PDS now intends to step up its electoral campaign. "We want to play a visibly and audibly stronger role."

The party wants at all events to strive for over 10 percent of the vote. "We think that we can form a strong opposition party group in the parliament," Brie said. After the elections, the left-wing forces in the GDR must cooperate more closely. "Our hand is outstretched," the PDS is prepared for a partnership with the Social Democratic Party. [passage omitted]

Ecological-Democratic Party Established

LD2702222890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1219 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Dresden (ADN)—The spectrum of parties in the GDR has increased by one on the "green wing." ADN has learned that an Ecological-Democratic Party [OEDP] has recently been set up in Coswig near Meissen (Dresden Area).

The OEDP plans "to help shape political life in the GDR on the basis of a free, democratic and social order in the spirit of humanity and responsibility for the present and future generations," a press release says. [passage omitted]

Minister Discusses All-German 'Green Table'

LD2802094790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1646 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The "Green Table" in the GDR has spoken out in favor of the swift formation of an all-German "Green Table." Environmental Protection Minister Dr. Peter Diederich gave information on this and other second-round results of the group on Tuesday in Berlin. The participants, representatives of 18 parties and organizations, discussed the draft of an environmental concept for the GDR. It is planned to present it to the Modrow government. [passage omitted]

National Greenpeace Chapter Established

LD2702212690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1227 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Since the start of this week there has been a "GDR Greenpeace"—a section of the worldwide environmental organization.

Its members introduced themselves in Berlin today at a news conference. According to scientist Dr. Christof Tannert, its main concern will be to contribute in a concrete way to reducing the severe environmental damage caused on GDR territory in the past decades. In three years at the latest, we want to see the initial results, he said. [passage omitted]

Environment Minister on 'Environmental Time Bomb'

AU2602151390 Hamburg BILD in German 26 Feb 90 p 4

[Interview with GDR Environment Minister Peter Diederich by Ellen Roitzsch; place and date not given]

[Text] [Roitzsch] Is the GDR an environmental time bomb that will soon go off?

[Diederich] It is five to 12. In the past, environmental protection did not play any role in the GDR, only the plan had to be fulfilled. The only thing we had were so-called curing steps, which we implemented after an accident happened.

[Roitzsch] Where is the situation particularly bad?

[Diederich] In the sphere of water. One-fifth of our water supply is so polluted that it can only be used at high cost in the industrial sector. Some 80 percent of the remaining water is strongly polluted and can be used as drinking water only after treatment in purification plants. Unless we drastically improve our waste-water management as quickly as possible, the GDR, which is not rich in water, will dry out.

[Roitzsch] When will your rivers teem again with fish?

[Diederich] Certainly not in the near future. However, I hope that cooperation in the sphere of the environment with the FRG will be successful within five or six years.

[Roitzsch] Will it not be necessary to close down chemical plants, like the one in Bitterfeld, for example?

[Diederich] Not all of them, but the production of aluminum, carbide, and chlorine will certainly be affected. In the long run, we will certainly not keep such plants working that infringe upon regulations of environmental protection.

Joint Environmental Commission Meets in Bonn

LD2302204490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1422 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—The setting up of a "Joint Environment Commissionn" of the GDR and the FRG marked the start of a community of responsibility of the two German states in environmental protection. This was noted by GDR Environment Minister Dr. Peter Diederich and FRG Environment Minister Professor Klaus Toepfer in a joint statement today at the end of the first meeting of the "Joint Environment Commission." The goal is an "environment union" of the two German states. Environmental standards should be brought into line at a high level as soon as possible and further developed.

The statement says that the two German states will cooperate closely in the spirit of a new ecological community of responsibility in the environment union, and also in the solution of cross-border environmental problems in Europe and in overcoming global environment policy challenges.

The commission decided to improve ecological renovation and development planning in the GDR and to set up an action program without delay. The closure of plants that are heavily polluting the environment and that are not worth renovating, the rapid completion of sewage treatment plant already under construction, dust-extraction systems for cement works and power stations, a timetable for an end to the bringing of waste from the

FRG to the GDR, and the improvement of surface water are among the things described as urgent.

The development of an environmentally tolerable economic structure in the GDR will also create new jobs. It is planned, for example, to create through the production of effective environmental protection technology many more jobs than would be lost through the shutting down of production. It is intended to locate new enterprises especially in those regions where a plant that is heavily polluting the environment has to be closed down.

At a news conference, Minister Diederich stressed that the consultations in Bonn were exceptionally result-orientated. Minister Toepfer said that they had gone much further than just the necessary planning. This would quickly benefit the people living in the particularly affected areas of the GDR. It was also stated at the news conference that over the next few years the GDR wants to reduce lignite mining by about one-third.

The "Joint Environment Commission," which had been agreed to in Dresden, is to meet at least twice a year. The next meeting will be in the GDR.

Gysi Meets FRG Greens' Vollmer

AU2702123190 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Feb 90 p 1

[ND report: "Gysi and Vollmer: "For Gradual Process Toward Unity"]

[Text] On 22 February, Gregor Gysi, Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] chairman, and a Greens delegation in the FRG Bundestag, headed by Antje Vollmer, Greens Bundestag group chairwoman, met for an informal exchange of opinions. Gregor Gysi briefed his guests on the current situation of the PDS and assessed the situation in our country from the point of view of the party. The two officials concurred in noting that the growing together of the two Germans states must be a gradual process to which the GDR can and must contribute values that are worth being preserved.

Modrow Meets FRG Greens' Leader

LD2202153990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1447 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Premier Hans Modrow's visit to Bonn and the question of the GDR identity were the subject of an exchange of views in Berlin today between Hans Modrow and the spokeswoman of the Greens party group executive in the Bundestag, Antje Vollmer.

After the meeting with Hans Modrow, the politician emphasized to the press, with reference to the unification process of the two German states, that confederation is the only truly practical political concept because it will bring about unity without disastrous economic collapse and without serious social problems.

On 21 February, Antje Vollmer met GDR Environment Minister Dr. Peter Diederich for a briefing.

Greifswald Nuclear Power Plant Shut Down

LD1602111190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1919 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Rostockf (ADN)—Block Two of the Greifswaid nuclear power station has been shut down. The GDR Office for Nuclear Safety and Radiation Protection has ordered the shutdown in order to carry out a repair planned for 1990 ahead of time. This was announced to ADN today by Office Vice President Professor Helmut Rabold in response to an enquiry. The decision to take Block Two out of the grid was based on a safety review of the pressure vessel material. The review was carried out by GDR specialists together with experts from the USSR and the FRG.

'Not Seriously Compromised'

LD1602220490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1807 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Rostock (ADN)—Nuclear safety and radiation protection in the "Bruno Leuschner" nuclear power station near Greifswald (Rostock area) were not seriously compromised either in the accident at the end of 1975 or by a series of minor events in the years 1988-89. This conclusion was reached by eight scientists of a commission from the International Atomic Energy Authority in detailed analyses that had been requested by the GDR after accusations by the FRG magazine DER SPIEGEL. [passage omitted]

Further on Plant

AU1802192790 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 17 Feb 90 pp 1-2

[Charima Reinhardt report: "GDR Switches Off Greifswald Three"]

[Text] Bonn—Now the GDR wants to switch off two of the four blocks of the Lubmin nuclear power plant near Greifswald. Thus, it follows a recommendation by Environment Minister Toepfer (Christian Democratic Union—CDU). Toepfer based his proposal on an interim report by the Society for Reactor Safety, which he presented in Bonn on 16 February. After the closure of Block Two was announced on 14 February, Block Three is planned to be temporarily switched off in March, according to the Office for Reactor Safety and Radiation Protection in East Berlin.

The Society for Reactor Safety has ascertained considerable shortcomings with regard to the safety regulations of the entire plant. As the danger that the weldings in the nuclear section of the reactors' pressure tanks in Blocks Two and Three might break is increasing, "the interruption of the operations of these blocks is recommended to

clarify open technical questions," it is stated. Reportedly, the danger is not so great in Block Four. According to Toepfer, the GDR will also put this block out of operation for a routine exchange of the fuel elements and for repairs.

Thus, as from March, only Block One of the nuclear power plant, which accounts for 10 percent of the GDR's energy supply, will be in operation. The reactor's pressure tank has been heated to mend fissures in the steel. According to the Society for Reactor Safety, this method is "basically suited" to remedy the steel's embrittlement, but it has "not been completely substantiated" to what extent this has been achieved so far. In this respect, further investigations are necessary.

Toepfer stressed that he cannot give a safety guarantee for the whole plant. Experts will continue their examinations until April on whether it is at all possible to retrofit the nuclear power plant. Toepfer proposed to take the Buschhaus and Offleben coal power plants out of the FRG power supply system to substitute for the lack of energy and to supply the GDR with energy by the so- called island system. In this way, approximately 600 megawatts could soon be delivered to the GDR.

Safety Issues Noted

AU2102152990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17-18 Feb 90 p 2

[ND report: "Nuclear Safety in Northern Nuclear Power Plant Never Seriously Endangered"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] At a news conference in Lubmin on 16 February, IAEA [International Atomic Energy Authority] Vice President Dr. Morris Rosen (United States) explained details of the safety of the Greifswald nuclear plant. From 1988 to 1989, a total of 1,191 irregularities in the operations of the four blocks were registered in the nuclear power plant, but only six of them were minor safety-relevant events, according to the IAEA regulations. Even the cable fire of 1975 only belongs in category three of the six-level scale. Thus, during the whole period under examination, there was not a radioactive emission or serious danger to the population, it was stated.

In answer to the question from NEUES DEUTSCHLAND on whether the closing of Block Three is also envisioned after the early closing of Block Two, Director General Dr. Reiner Lehmann stated: Block Two will be thermally "healed" by the end of April. In close cooperation with Soviet nuclear experts, it is planned to immediately continue with Block Three in May and June.

Damage in Plant Noted

AU2302094190 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Feb 90 p 1

[ND report: "Damage in Nuclear Power Plant Repaired After Two Hours"]

[Text] Rostock—Following cable damage at the nuclear power plant north near Greifswald, Block Four was taken out of the grid on 20 February, ADN reported at 1918 [1818 GMT] hours. No further details were given by the Rostock Area Council. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND area correspondent Wolfgang Brune called the director of the "Bruno Leuschner" nuclear power plant that same evening.

He asked him about the incident. "There can be no talk of an incident. We merely had to shut down Block Four at 1800 hours because of external damage to a cable. What happened cannot be classified as an incident." Why was the cable damaged? "The cable was unintentionally damaged when measures to improve safety were carried out. At no point was the functioning of the work's security equipment impaired to the slightest extent. There was no leakage of radioactivity inside or outside the nuclear power plant." How long will it take to repair the damage? "It took two hours to repair the damage. Block Four will assume full operation again by 21 February." Thus, no power switch-off for the population? "No, not at all."

Josef Krinke, who was on duty in the Ministry for Heavy Industry, confirmed in a telephone conversation with NEUES DEUTSCHLAND correspondent Matthias Loke that there was only damage to the distribution cable of the emergency power-generating plant, but that no damage was caused by fire. Nuclear safety was endangered at no point. The nuclear power plant employees and the inhabitants were not in danger.

Block 3 Shutting Down

LD2702232390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1546 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Block Three of the Greifswald nuclear power station is to be disconnected from the grid during the night of 28 February, the Ministry for Heavy Industry said on Tuesday. One was thereby reacting to recommendations from experts from the GDR and the FRG concerning a clearing up of technical safety issues for the further operation of this block. Block Two had been shut down, as already reported, on 14 February for the same reasons.

The statement further says that the heating supply for the town of Greifswald and the supply of electricity and energy in the GDR's northern area are being provided by Blocks One and Four, which are still in operation. The investigations concerning the safety of the nuclear power station blocks by experts from the GDR, the FRG, and the USSR are continuing. In April of this year, statements concerning a possible reconstruction or step-by-step closure of the blocks should be available.

Unemployment Problem in Berlin Rising

AU2202114790 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 17-18 Feb 90 p 1

[BZ report: "Employment Situation in Berlin Increasingly Critical"]

[Text] East Berlin—Over the past days, the number of available jobs has continued to decrease in Berlin. At the beginning of the week, 12,351 available jobs were registered at the labor exchange offices, compared with 14,812 on 7 February.

Only 88 of the available jobs were suitable for university graduates. At the same time, 6,510 skilled workers, as well as 3,632 trained and untrained workers, were wanted.

A total of 29 institutions of the state apparatus and social organizations have announced that they intend to dismiss another 38,919 employees in the near future. Of those, 22,037 have been given new jobs so far. According to City Councillor Werner Wollschlaeger of the Berlin roundtable, it will be increasingly difficult to ensure the right to work of the other 16,882. About 70 percent of them are employees with university or technical school training.

According to the city councillor, 200 citizens—half of them women—have so far turned to the Berlin labor exchange offices to apply for unemployemnt benefits. Officially, such applications will be accepted starting 26 February. It is expected that by the end of the month about 2,400 citizens will submit such an application.

Association of Unemployed To Be Established

AU2302124490 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 16 Feb 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Association Takes Care of Unemployed"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The minister for employment and wages has agreed to the establishment of an association of unemployed in the GDR. As the initiators told ADN, the association turns to all interested citizens and unemployed persons. It addresses those who might be endangered by the planned economic and market mechanisms. With membership in the association of unemployed, the will is expressed to unite against arbitrariness and the permanent violation of the Constitution and of the valid law by government representatives, entrepreneurs, general directors, and managers and to secure participation in decision-making in all problems of the unemployed.

The contact address is: Dr. Werner Strecke, Moskethaler Strasse 7, Dresden, 8045.

70,000 Registered

AU2602190390 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 23 Feb 90 p 1

[ADN report: "70,000 Unemployed in GDR"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—There are approximately 70,000 unemployed people in the GDR.

Dr. Klaus Grehn, initiator of an association of unemployed people, stated at a joint forum with church representatives in the Stephanus Foundation in Berlin on 22 February that on account of letters received by him and inquiries, approximately 500,000 unemployed people are to be expected by the end of the year.

This means that his forecast is below the projections of Western experts, who computed 3.6 million unemployed people in the GDR. He made it clear to affected persons that unemployment will amount to an average of 15 percent in a future greater Germany.

GNP Hits 353 Billion Marks in 1989

AU2702113990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24-25 Feb 90 p 1

[ADN report: "Gross National Product 353 Billion Marks]

[Text] Berlin—The GDR gross national product, which has been computed by the Central Statistical Administration for the first time, was 353 billion marks last year. That means a 2.3 percent growth compared to 1988. The data are provisional calculations regarding prices in 1985.

The gross national product is the most comprehensive expression of the national economic capability. Compared to the national income, which totaled 273.5 billion marks, it also contains the performance in the nonproducing sector, which includes housing and local management, money and credits, science, education, and culture, the health system and social affairs, tourism, and depreciations in the national economy.

According to provisional calculations, the gross national product of 1988 (345.1 billion marks) also increased 10.7 percent over 1985, increasing at about the same rate as the produced national income.

New Forum Favors Removal of Food Subsidies

LD2202231790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2248 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—New Forum does not accept the decision by the GDR Government to delay the abolition of food subsidies until after the People's Chamber elections on 18 March. This emerges from a statement by the Republic Council of Spokesmen of the citizens' movement, which was conveyed to ADN today.

Delaying the removal of subsidies means, the Republic Council of Spokesmen stresses, a daily loss of up to 15

million marks [M] through the purchase of subsidized goods. Apart from this, the removal of subsidies is an indispensable prerequisite for the future social market economy. The GDR would be well advised to carry out the necessary reform of prices and incomes in accordance with its own socially tolerable points of view before a monetary union.

New Forum continues to call on the government to change food subsidies into supplements to personal income. New Forum stresses that M150 a month per person would particularly benefit socially weak and thrifty citizens.

The Council of Spokesmen justifies dealing with this subject again by the number of debates among the population. [passage omitted]

Government Spokesman on Savings Accounts

AU2302124890 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Feb 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Clear Word From the Government Spokesman?"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—When asked about the present "plundering of savings accounts" and the "distribution of savings accounts to family members," Government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer said that such activities are deplorable. They are caused by rumors from "various capitals" and the media that claim that there are agreements on the exchange of savings accounts. Meyer affirmed that the expert talks on the preparation of the currency and economic union will only start next week. "I hope that this is a clear word."

In answer to a question, the government spokesman reported on proposals to reform the GDR banking system, without giving further details. The Council of Ministers had agreed to them and passed them on to the People's Chamber for discussion, he stated.

Jewish Official on Situation of Jews

AU2302182790 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 20 Feb 90 p 4

[Report on interview with Siegmund Rotstein by Klaus Mueller; place and date not given: "Everybody Must Know That the Shoa is a Part of History"]

[Text] German co-responsibility for relations with the Jews in the past and present, diplomatic ties with Israel, intensive discussions on xenophobia, racism, and anti-Semitism are no marginal issues in the process of democratization in the GDR. ADN asked Jewish National Representation President Siegmund Rotstein to comment on these issues. Here is a slightly abridged version of the interview.

[Mueller] In a letter to World Jewish Congress President Edgar Miles Bronfman, Premier Hans Modrow made it clear that the Germans in the GDR were also responsible for the persecution of Jews during Hitlerite fascism. The republic will meet the resulting obligations, he stated. How do you assess this statement?

[Rotstein] I welcome this statement and see it primarily as the beginning of a more far-reaching process of discussing and coming to terms with German history, particularly with a view to the Shoa, the merciless extermination of the major part of the European Jews. The process that is dealing with the fate of the Jews must be reflected in the life and the consciousness of every citizen in our country. It is important to realize that Jewish history is also part of German history.

[Mueller] Israel's Foreign Ministry described the contents of Modrow's letter as a positive step in the right direction. How do you see developments concerning the establishment of diplomatic relations between the GDR and Israel?

[Rotstein] I view Modrow's clear statement on co-responsibility mainly as the precondition for beginning the normalization of relations between the two states that has long been desired and striven for by the Jews in the GDR. Negotiations on reparation payments might be further steps. There is no doubt that the death of 6 million people cannot be made up for. However, the GDR could make a contribution in various ways, in the cultural and social sphere, for example. We, the Jewish National Representation, want to invite children from Israel to take part in our summer camps starting in 1991. We also maintain relations with the Yad-Vashem Memorial in Jerusalem. I simply think it is important to breath life in various forms into relations between the two states that are to be officially established. Everybody should realize that normal relations with the state of Israel are also to a very great extent a question of moral behavior toward the Jewish people.

[Mueller] There have been terrible incidents in our country recently. Anti-Semitism in the GDR, a state that was founded and formed by antifascists—how do you think this is possible?

[Rotstein] In my view, anti-Semitic incidents that occurred recently in our country happened because a thorough intellectual discussion of the latent anti-Semitism, which exists to this very day, has never taken place. In addition, the sufferings and the antifascist struggle of the Jews were generally dealt with within the framework of an undifferentiated antifascism. Thus they lost some of their significance. Anti-Semitic incidents, such as the desecration of cemeteries and monuments, were hardly ever mentioned in public in the past. It is true that such crimes were punishable with severe sentences on the basis of the Constitution, but I think that this is insufficient.

[Mueller] Do you see obligations that the parties and movements that participate in elections on 18 March could assume?

[Rotstein] Yes. I welcome the fact that all democratic parties and associations support antifascism and humanism, and that they vehemently reject anti-Semitism and racism. However, I would like to stress that words should always be followed by deeds. In the future, too, responsibility should not only be assumed in domestic policy, but also by shaping relations with Israel, or by meeting an obligation of international importance, to establish the new synagogue in Berlin as a "centrum judaicum." I proceed from the assumption that the future government will also support this plan. In connection with all great European issues and the German questions that is embedded in them, this task cannot be excluded.

More Right-Wing Extremist Activities Noted

AU2302151290 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Feb 90 p 3

[ADN report: "Right-Wing Extremist Activities"]

[Text] On 20 February, the Ministry of the Interior stated that there was an increase in right-wing extremist activities in the GDR. In a residential area in Wolfen, a Republicans sticker with slogans hostile to foreigners was found. Unidentified perpetrators painted swastikas and Republicans' slogans on the walls of gyms of two secondary schools. Propaganda material of Schoenhuber's party was seized in the train station hall at Bautzen. On 18 February, a memorial stone for antifascist resistance fighters in the square in front of the cemetery at Wernitz was pulled out of the ground and knocked over.

Mielke Order on Elections Discovered

AU1702172590 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 14 Feb 90 p 3

[Report by Andreas Foerster: "This Is How the Authorities Wanted to Gag Critics"]

[Text] A document has been discovered that again testifies to the cynicism and abuse of office of former officials in our country. It is an order issued by former State Security Minister Erich Mielke on 19 May 1989 that contains "measures for the suppression and prevention of activities...aimed at discrediting the local election results of 7 May 1989."

The five-page document was detected by a citizens' committee in the filing cabinet of the former Leipzig Area Administration for State Security. On 13 February, we received the document registered under number 89-38/89 in the Ministry for State Security as a confidential and restricted matter. What does it contain?

The order proceeds from the assumption that "internal enemies" intend to prove an "alleged rigging of election results." It also contains information on activities that have already been carried out by "instigators/organizers of subversive political activities and reactionary church officials."

Concerning the further procedure, measures were stipulated "centrally" (who or what is behind that?). In accordance with these stipulations, inquiries concerning the election results should be given to the local election committee secretaries who should confirm "the proper execution of the elections" on the basis of a text that was also included. The order continues: "In any case, the situation is to be avoided whereby arguments are exchanged on the issue itself or on alleged facts."

Reports to the police should be handled in the following way: "After the expiration of the set periods...the responsible organs are to answer that suspicions of criminal offense are unfounded." Complaints are to be rejected.

From these stipulations, Mielke deducted the political-strategic tasks: It is "to be ensured that the thorough operational penetration of hostile opposition and other negative circles of persons is carried out with the aim of discovering, on a timely basis, further activities designed to discredit the local election results and of preventing them in a prophylactic manner. Given the corresponding preconditions, the persons in question are to be examined and to be handled in special operations."

So-called provocative activities by church circles should be "rejected in an appropriate manner" by the state secretary for church affairs and the responsible officials of the Interior Ministry's local councils, which, however, should not lead to a "strain on the relationship between the church and the state."

The document also contains the following stipulations: Prevention of the dispatch of documents furnishing proof of election manipulations; notification of all activities that are planned or that have been carried out by citizens who are critical of the election results; passing on information on persons who criticize the election results in public or in petitions; and the introduction of legal investigations in particularly "serious cases."

In conclusion, the document states that "in order to guarantee uniform action...the general prosecuting attorney and the minister of the interior will also publish and issue instructions for their spheres of responsibility."

This is an explosive document that furnishes depressing proof of a security policy with which a clique of leaders enforced its claim to power—against every democratic principle, and also against all principles of socialist policy stipulated in the statutes of their own party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. The order also frighteningly demonstrates the omnipresence of the apparatus of the state security system that permeated all levels of the society and the state.

Former Berlin Mayor on Reason for Resignation

LD2302123190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1024 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Dr. Christian Hartenhauer, previously city councillor for culture, was elected as the new mayor [of East Berlin] by the Berlin City Assembly today. [passage omitted]

In a statement, Krack [who stepped down as mayor today] said the misrepresentation of the political will of citizens could not be justified and was highly reprehensible. As a politician and former Berlin Election Commission chairman, he could not be absolved of any guilt. "Respect for the deputies and my colleagues in the municipal councils compels me to draw the necessary personal conclusions and, in accordance with the will of parliament to which I am committed, to lay down my office."

Investigation of October 1989 Events Proceeds

LD2802090690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0809 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—As a result of instructions dating from 1 September 1989, and with backing from Erich Honecker, ex-State Security Minister Erich Mielke himself assumed authority of coordinating security measures on 7 and 8 October. This emerges from the ad hoc commission's report of enquiry to the Berlin Assembly of City Councellors, which is to be discussed today in the Red Town Hall.

In spite of intensive investigative work, there have as yet been no further findings on the activities of former state security employees on the streets of the GDR capital. The strength of the forces deployed on 7 and 8 October last year is disputed.

Rallies for Unification in Karl-Marx-Stadt

AU2302180990 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 20 Feb 90 p 2

[ADN/BZ report: "Demonstrations for Quick Unification"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin—[passage omitted] The demand for German unity characterized the traditional rally in Karl-Marx-Stadt, in which about 80,000 citizens of the Saxon industrial center participated. The demonstrators unanimously approved a return to the name of Chemnitz for their hometown. A referendum is to decide this matter on 18 March.

At the last demonstration in Halle before the People's Chamber elections, Lower Saxony Minister President Ernst Albrecht spoke to thousands of citizens. He offered close cooperation and support to the soon-to-be-formed land of Saxony-Anhalt, whose capital may well be Halle.

Referring to a currency and economic union between the two German states, the minister president, who had been welcomed with black-red-and-gold flags, stressed: "The people's savings must not be devalued." The FRG will not only contribute its strong Deutsche mark but also its experience and economic power, he said.

Policemen Demonstrate for Trade Union Law

AU2102173390 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Feb 90 p 2

[ADN/ND report: "People's Police Trade Unionists Demonstrate"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN/ND)—In all parts of the republic, members of the People's Police Union demonstrated on 14 February. They called, above all, for the speedy adoption of a trade union law by the People's Chamber. During demonstrations in area and district towns, the participants advocated the further democratic reorganization of the German People's Police, especially the openness of their activities and the continuation of the security partnerships. The members of the People's Police called for the speedy adoption of a civil service code.

Members of the Halle People's Police had called these demonstrations. In this city on the Saale, the demonstrators demanded, among other things, clear statements on the security strategy from all parties and organizations.

Further on Peoples' Chamber Session

AU2402161390 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Feb 90 p 1

[Report by Guenter Fleischmann and Jochen Fischer: "Debate at the People's Chamber: Unification But No Surrender"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin—The People's Chamber continued its 17th session on 21 February with a debate on Hans Modrow's government statement. On behalf of the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS], Deputy Chairman Wolfgang Pohl took the floor. He stated that in overcoming the division of the German nation as a result of World War II, one can only strive for the unification of two sovereign states. Only in this way can the social rights of the citizens be ensured. The unification of the Germans must not create a hotbed of conflict in Europe.

Speakers from other parties also called for moderation and good political judgment, and warned against endangering the rights of the citizens, for which they have worked so hard, by simply joining the FRG. Cornelia Wolfram (Liberal Party of Germany) stressed the right to self-determination. There is a considerable difference between unification and surrender, she pointed out. Minister Walter Romberg (Social Democratic Party) also pleaded for an orderly unification process, and Michael Koplanski (Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany) stressed that everybody should know what the GDR has already done for the whole of Germany.

Lothar de Maiziere, Christian Democratic Union chairman, finally abandoned the plan that his party had supported so vehemently—the plan to request the reintroduction of the 1949 Constitution—and Rainer Ortlieb, Liberal Democratic Party of Germany chairman, drew numerous negative reactions by deputies when he accused the PDS and other parties of fanning social fears. Speakers from the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association, the Free German Trade Union Federation, and the Democratic Women's League of Germany also pointed out to Ortlieb that the fears among the working people and the socially weak in this country are not unfounded. Not rhetoric but responsibility must dominate, stated experienced Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, who was the last speaker. [passage omitted]

Council of Ministers Resolution on Draft

AU2202114990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Feb 90 p 8

[ADN report: "Draft on 8 and 9 May 1990"]

[Text] According to the resolution of the GDR Council of Ministers on the call-up draft and discharge from active military service in the first six months of 1990, the following has been laid down to guarantee the personnel replenishment of the National People's Army according to section 45, subsection 1 of the Military Service Law: The draft will take place on 8 and 9 May 1990. Draftees of the following age groups will be drafted in the following order: age group 1967, that is, all those who will complete their 23d year before the end of 1990; the age groups 1968, 1969, 1970, and 1971; and all those born in 1972 who will complete their 18th year by 30 April.

The duration of the basic military service is 12 months and that of the voluntary military service at least two years.

The draft of the 1972 age group will have to be carried out by the district recruiting commands from 19 March to 20 April. Draftees who intend to do alternative military service can reject military service for reasons of faith or of conscience before, during, or after the recruitment examination or draft. For this purpose, written statements have to be handed in and their receipt has to be confirmed in writing.

Men will be discharged from active military service on 26 and 27 April 1990. This concerns soldiers doing basic military service after a period of service of 12 months; soldiers doing basic military service whose studies abroad have been confirmed after a period of service of eight months; long-term servicemen and long-term noncommissioned officers whose period of service expires according to schedule after three years; and, on personal application, long-term servicemen and long-term noncommissioned officers after a period of service of two years. Rumors about further early discharges from active military service do not correspond to the facts.

Further on Council

AU2602152690 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Feb 90 p 1

[Report by Rainer Bekeschus: "News Conference on Results of the Council of Ministers' Session—Government Decided To Extend Annual Leave for Working People by Two Days"]

[Excerpt]

Extension of Annual Leave

Every working person who is employed under the labor law will be granted two additional days of annual leave as of 1 January 1990. This was announced on 22 February by government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer at an international news conference in Berlin. Thus, the government complied with the extraordinary trade union congress' request. In addition, enterprises were granted the right to grant three days of fidelity leave if "the performance and economic efficiency allow such an agreement."

Meyer also stated that the Council of Ministers session on 22 February focused primarily on the evaluation of the roundtable results and the most recent People's Chamber session. Hans Modrow stressed that the roundtable had supported the work carried out by the government delegation in Bonn, and that there were no negative comments on the government statement he delivered at the People's Chamber session, Meyer pointed out.

No Price Increase

The topical situation concerning the supply of foodstuffs and luxury food was discussed. Manfred Flegel, minister for trade and supply, stated that the daily trade turnover reached the twofold to fourfold amount in various cases. However, the government will ensure the stable supply of the population. He announced immediate measures, stating that meat and poultry will be taken out of cold-storage depots, that additional animals will be slaughtered, and that special shifts will be introduced in the foods industry. If necessary, state reserve funds will be tapped, and additional goods will be imported, the minister stressed. However, prices of foodstuffs and luxury food will not be increased before 18 March 1990. [passage omitted]

Number of Border Troops Decreases

LD1602174790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1554 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The head of the GDR border troops, Major General Dieter Teichmann, predicts that he will have 25,000 men at the border in future. In an interview with the magazine NBI, he referred to the fact that 15,000 border troops, which consisted of 38,000 men until last year, had been discharged by the end of January. At the same time he admitted: "If a state

relinquishes its sovereignty, it decides the fate of the border. Then it will no longer exist. I mean that the development should neither be held back nor artificially accelerated."

At present his work at the border means coping with tourism "on a scale hitherto unknown." Now about 100 border crossing points have been added to the previous 45 to the FRG and West Berlin. Problems and temporary arrangements cannot be excluded there. In quite a few cases, the soldiers and officers are working under "extremely poor conditions. We are pleased that many travelers are showing understanding for this situation." During the first 10 days after the border opening, there were almost as many people coming in and out of the country as there had been previously during a whole year.

Securing the border nowadays also means "cooperating more than ever with the FRG's Federal Frontier Protection Service and with the West Berlin police, and eliminating former mutual reservations or even hostile attitudes," the border general said.

Details of Arms Exports Discussed

AU1702161990 East Berlin HORIZONT in German No. 2/1990 p 32

[Interview with Erhard Wiechert, former director general of Imes Import Export GmbH, by unidentified HORIZONT reporter; place and date not given: "A Hot Potato"]

[Text] [HORIZONT] How was the Imes GmbH established?

[Wiechert] Imes was founded as a limited liability company in 1982 by former State Secretary Schalck-Golodkowski and registered at the commercial register of the city area court Berlin-Center after a shareholders' resolution. Thus the enterprise was given the right to carry out business operations and transactions with other countries.

[HORIZONT] Did you have to shape the Imes GmbH in a certain way?

[Wiechert] From the very beginning, Imes was founded to earn foreign currency through exporting arms, ammunition, and military technology that was discarded by the armed organs, or that came from the GDR's "special production." We had the necessary licenses for all transactions, which were granted by the Commercial Coordination Office (KoKo), or which were binding to a certain degree through the so-called supply readiness plan of former Council of Ministers Chairman Stoph.

[HORIZONT] Can you give us any information about the kind of weapons and military goods that were exported by Imes?

[Wiechert] It was mainly technology that was cast out by the GDR armed organs, for example aircraft that were fit for the scrap heap, and outdated armored vehicles; we also provided repair services, sold maintenance industry know-how, spare parts for various military equipment, rifles, and ammunition. I would like to add that we also sold things that were actually not at all intended for active use by armed organs, but that were rather collectors' items, such as old guns or carbines, which were provided from the People's Police stocks.

[HORIZONT] Were there enough customers for these old weapons?

[Wiechert] Well, the demand for them was not exaggerated but with the adequate public relations work we found enough customers.

[HORIZONT] Which countries did you have commercial contacts with?

[Wiechert] For example, with Egypt, the Yemen Arab Republic, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Uganda, Jordan, the United Arab Emirates, Ethiopia, Argentina, Botswana, Peru, Iran, Cuba, Poland, Hungary, and also with the PLO. Moreover, we also supplied weapons, which were only of a certain value to collectors, to Belgium and Austria, namely the Pistol 08 and the Carbine K 98. In addition, we also imported things, for example, from Sweden, when a supplier of gunpowder from the CSSR failed to supply us.

[HORIZONT] Which countries did you conclude new agreements with in 1989?

[Wiechert] In 1989 we agreed, among other things, to deliver ammunition to Hungary for convertible foreign currency; we concluded agreements with Jordan on the supply of rifles, with Uganda on the export of radio technology, and with Botswana on the export of rifles. We also supplied training services to Iran for the maintenance of aircraft. The same applies to aircraft repairs for Egypt, or the supply of technological know-how to Argentina. Most agreements contained secrecy regulations.

[HORIZONT] What profits did you make with the arms deals?

[Wiechert] Between 1982 and 1989, Imes made profits to the tune of $318.9 million. The foreign currency that we gained was passed on. Some of it was returned to us for refinancing loans.

[HORIZONT] Did Imes only deal in weapons and military goods, or was it also offered agent services?

[Wiechert] Imes also dealt in goods of a nonmilitary nature. For example, for the foreign trade enterprise Transport Machinery, we sold W-50 trucks. If I remember right, we exported approximately 18,000 trucks either directly or acted as agents for such transactions with Iran, Egypt, Jordan, and Uganda. We did not act as agents in arms deals, but carried out such transactions on our own behalf and on our own account. For example, we repaired 50 T-55 tanks for Iran in the GDR.

This was in the spring of 1989. These were tanks that Iran captured from the Iraqi Armed Forces. I do not know where exactly these tanks came from, but I believe that they were not originally supplied by the GDR.

[HORIZONT] Rumor has it that Imes has ignored and even infringed upon obligations our country has toward the Warsaw Pact and that it also supplied NATO countries.

[Wiechert] I can categorically declare that Imes did not supply any weapons or ammunition to NATO countries. The only thing that we ever did in this connection was exporting GDR-made rifles to Great Britain in 1986-87. We supplied no more than 10 pieces that were intended as samples and for display. It is internationally customary to present weapons in this way to interested parties so that, on the basis of a sample, they can decide whether they want to buy or not. Great Britain would most probably not have bought them; however, it would have been conceivable that, for example, former British colonies, such as Nigeria or the United Arab Emirates, are interested in acquiring such weapons via a British arms dealer.

[HORIZONT] Did you receive orders directly from the leadership, people like Honecker, Mielke, and Mittag?

[Wiechert] Our company received orders certainly from the sphere of KoKo, but I have information that many of these orders were based on instructions or orders of the people that you mentioned.

[HORIZONT] Did Imes GmbH also cooperate with the Armed Forces?

[Wiechert] Yes, we sometimes did. This was simply the result of the necessary technological coordination. We did this with experts of the armed organs, and this was necessary to guarantee safe transport from the production enterprises to our warehouses, and from there to the dispatch department. This had to be coordinated, for example, with the Interior Ministry in line with the applicable regulations.

[HORIZONT] What relations did you have with the former State Security Ministry?

[Wiechert] Our relations with the former Ministry for State Security were on a purely business level. This includes, for example, the fact that our warehouses—such as the one at Kavelstorf—were run and protected by this ministry.

[HORIZONT] Did you also provide services that had "nothing to do with ordinary business transactions" for the former Ministry for State Security or foreign trade enterprises that were engaged in its intelligence operations.

[Wiechert] I can certainly deny this. We were not involved in any intelligence tasks of the Ministry for State Security, and never executed any such tasks.

[HORIZONT] Should not one suspect that this ministry carried out arms deals on its own account?

[Wiechert] I cannot exclude this.

[HORIZONT] How do you today assess the activities of your enterprise?

[Wiechert] From a moral point of view, dealing in arms and ammunition is problematic, because mankind wants peace and disarmament.

I have tried, and I can say that on behalf of the entire collective of Imes (30 people), to always make sure in our work that the weapons and the ammunition that we exported did not reach people that it should not reach. I can confirm that products with which we dealt never went to Israel, South Africa, Chile or organizations such as the IRA. In addition, our supply lists included neither chemical weapons nor other means of mass destruction.

Social Democratic Paper Published in Leipzig

AU2302125490 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Feb 90 p 3

[ADN report: DER NEUE SOZIALDEMOKRAT]

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—For the first time in 57 years, the newspaper DER NEUE SOZIALDEMOKRAT, the Social Democrats' weekly in Leipzig, was published again. Thousands of copies were distributed in the center of the city of fairs when the political objectives and views on the development of "German unity" were presented to members and supporters of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] at a rally.

Citizens Abroad Entitled To Vote in Elections

AU2702143990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Feb 90 p 2

[ND-Fleischmann report: "People's Chamber: "GDR Citizens Abroad Entitled To Vote"]

[Excerpts] At its 17th session, the People's Chamber's 392 deputies that were present dealt with a considerable number of law-making tasks. It started with the law on the 18 March People's Chamber elections. [passage omitted]

The fact that citizens working abroad have not been entitled to vote has been a controversial issue for weeks. Monika Werner explained why the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] moved that those living abroad should also be guaranteed the right to vote and that the establishment of constituencies abroad ought to be included in the electoral law and in the election regulations. This was supported by the youth committee. Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer said that it is possible to create the possibilities for it. The PDS motion was accepted with 73 votes against and 24 abstentions. The change of the Constitution, which was necessary for the electoral law, and the election regulations also found the support of the majority.

The People's Chamber established the GDR electoral commission. It includes Fritz Halm and Juergen Poppitz of the PDS. The Election Commission Presidium consists of independent personalities: Professor Gerhard Brendler; Rita Eggert, a member of a state farm; Professor Kurt Masur; Peter Mueller, High Consistory president; and Rudolf Richter, expert in agricultural technology. [passage omitted]

Media Control Council Resists TV Changes

LD1702205890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2010 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Media Control Council of the GDR, at its extraordinary session on 17 February, came out decisively against any attempts to illegally change the conditions of ownership, structure, and profile of GDR Television.

A statement signed by acting Control Council Chairman Wagner goes on:

"According to reliable information available to the Media Control Council, the director general of GDR Television has been holding private talks with foreign investors. They were aimed at giving these investors shares in GDR Television. The Media Control Council regards these actions as a violation of the People's Chamber decision of 5 February 1990, about the ensuring of freedom of opinion, information, and media, and declares that the director general of GDR Television has no authority whatever to conduct such negotiations.

Fischer Receives PLO's Qaddumi During Visit

LD2202134690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1220 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Friendly relations with the PLO will continue to be a constant factor in the GDR's Middle East policy. This assurance was given by Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer today to his guest, Faruq Qaddumi, PLO Executive Committee member and head of its Political Department. The GDR continues to regard the safeguarding of the Palestinian people's rights to self-determination as a main question of any Middle East conflict settlement. The guest spoke about intensified activity by his organization and the Arab countries to advance the peace process in the region, despite all present obstacles. For this an international Middle East peace conference is more urgent than ever. The PLO is adhering to its concept of achieving a permanent solution by means of dialogue.

Oskar Fischer stated that the GDR is interested in normal relations with all states of the region, and in this connection he gave detailed information about present contacts with Israel. He stressed that the GDR will not accept any conditions that are directed against third countries. "For the GDR," he said, "soldiarity with the PLO is not for sale." The GDR and its people will continue to stand firmly and in solidarity at the side of the Palestinian people and will further develop their relations with the PLO. This also includes the expected signing in the next few days of a new cultural work plan.

Modrow Meets PLO Member

LD2202221490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1819 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Faruq Qaddumi, PLO Political Department chief and Executive Committee member, expressed the PLO leadership's great appreciation for the GDR's long-standing solidarity in talks with leading politicians in Berlin today. [passage omitted]

Solidarity is deeply rooted in the GDR population, said Prime Minister Hans Modrow in a meeting with the Palestinian guest. Modrow stressed the aim of bringing to bear the GDR stance on the PLO in the process of unification of the two German states. The establishment of relations between the East European states and Israel is conducive to the solution of the Middle East conflict. [passage omitted]

In his meeting with Faruq Qaddumi, People's Chamber President Dr. Guenther Maleuda expressed the expectation of a further development and deepening in relations between the two states and their parliaments. He explained in detail the comprehensive work carried out by the GDR parliament last week for the revolutionary transformation and the preparation for the 18 March elections. Unity is a continual dream for the Arab peoples and particularly for the Palestinians, said the PLO official. He expressed the conviction that his organization and the entire Palestinian people will profit from the experiences of the German people in unification.

Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer gave a dinner for the guest and his entourage this evening.

Official Discusses Relations With EC

AU2402213990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Feb 90 p 3

[Interview with Ingo Oeser, head of the GDR mission to the EC, by Herbert Annas in Brussels; date not given: "It Is Important To Open Up the GDR to Europe"]

[Text] [Annas] The GDR Government has presented a memorandum to the EC Commission in Brussels. Can you tell us something about the contents?

[Oeser] The memorandum takes into consideration the political changes in the GDR. It outlines the position of our foreign policy on the European processes, on the opening up of Europe, and on our wish to establish closer ties with the EC. Every step promoting the growing together of the two German states is at the same time a step into the EC. This is a fact. The memorandum extensively describes measures to ensure economic reforms in the GDR that are necessary and that have

already been initiated so that a socially oriented market economy can become effective quickly. This has been positively received here in Brussels.

[Annas] What facts suggest this?

[Oeser] Experts from the "Group of 24" convened on 16 February. As a matter of fact, the memorandum was addressed to them. The EC acts as a coordinator for these 24 states that form a group that supports reforms in the East European countries. The GDR, the CSSR, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia have now also been included in this reform program. Originally, only Hungary and Poland were supported. As was stated during the discussion of the memorandum, it contains good steps in the right direction.

[Annas] Has the discussion yielded any results so far?

[Oeser] The future course of cooperation between the EC and the GDR has been stipulated. A phase of specific talks will start now. On 22 February, an EC delegation headed by the "Group of 24" staff will be coming to Berlin to discuss details as to how cooperation can be shaped. According to my information, the talks will be attended by the Modrow government, including the ministers without portfolio. Here in Brussels, it is being stressed that the talks in Berlin will be of great significance both for the GDR and the EC because a monetary and economic union between the GDR and FRG also affects the EC integration processes.

[Annas] How do you assess the foreign minister's conference in Dublin?

[Oeser] The foreign ministers discussed the position of the EC on the preparation of the CSCE summit and also the process of cooperation between the two German states. EC President Delors confirmed that a document will be prepared for the special EC summit in April that will deal with the implications for the EC of a monetary and economic union between the GDR and FRG. In addition, the EC wants to determine how the German-German process can be embedded in the preparations for a monetary and economic union of the EC states.

To sum things up, I believe that intensive efforts will be required before and after the elections to sound out the place that the GDR will have within the EC.

Leaders Meet With Council of Europe Official

AU2602181790 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Feb 90 p 1

[ND-Reinert report: "Does the GDR Have a Chance in the Council of Europe?"]

[Text] East Berlin—Will the GDR become a Council of Europe member in the foreseeable future? Anders Bjorck, Parliamentary Assembly president of this body, which has 23 member states to date, provided a wise answer to this question at a news conference in Berlin on 22 February: It all depends on the pace of German unification. If the process is fast, then there is no need for the Council of Europe to act. However, if unification were to be achieved only gradually, then it would be inconceivable for a democratic GDR not to have relations with the Council of Europe.

For the time being, the GDR last week applied for the status of special guest (observer)—a status that has already been granted to Hungary, Poland, the USSR, and the SFRY. Swedish politician Anders Bjorck agreed with his partners in the talk—acting State Council Chairman Manfred Gerlach, Premier Hans Modrow, People's Chamber President Guenther Maleuda, Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, and roundtable representatives—that the Council of Europe will discuss this application immediately after the 18 March elections.

It was also agreed that the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly will dispatch 10 deputies as observers to the GDR People's Chamber elections, who will represent all five groups of the body that includes 177 deputies. It was stated that after the GDR elections, one expected a People's Chamber delegation to visit Strasbourg that also includes deputies of a similarly wide range.

According to Anders Bjorck, who is the first president of the 23-state parliament to visit the GDR, the Council of Europe today considers itself an organization for all of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. He said that with its 135 conventions and European agreements, as well as 100 intergovernmental experts' committees, the Council of Europe could play an important role for the construction of the common home. When, in the foreseeable future, 30 or more countries are Parliamentary Assembly members, this assembly might constitute a kind of "European upper house," Bjorck concluded.

Spokesman Addresses UN Drug Conference

AU2602211390 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 23 Feb 90 p 1

[NZ/ADN report: "Start of Drug-Combatting"]

[Text] New York (NZ/ADN)—In the GDR's view, overcoming the drug problem is an equally humanitarian, social, eocnomic, and political task. Therefore, this complex approach must be a decisive cornerstone of international cooperation against drugs, Willi Schlegel, head of the GDR delegation to the UN General Assembly's special drug conference, stated in New York. For this purpose, the framework of institutions and international law has to be fully used, while the UN system has to play an outstanding role.

In February, the GDR also ratified the 1988 UN convention against illegal traffic in narcotic drugs, which it had signed some time ago. "Our national legal regulations, in particular the drug law and the criminal law, which largely took the convention requirements convention into account and actually made its provisional application possible, are being completely adjusted.

Completely in agreement with its foreign policy, the GDR declares that the convention regulations that are aimed at more efficient cooperation between the states will be fully imlemented by international cooperation."

Open Human Rights Policy Advocated

AU2202160790 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Feb 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Human Rights Soon Controllable in GDR"]

[Text] Geneva (ADN)—In the next few months, the GDR will withdraw a number of reservations as regards international human rights agreements and will follow international practices. This also includes extending international control of the observation of human rights in the GDR and the right of its citizens to international complaints. This was stated by GDR representative Dr. Rudolf Frambach at the plenum of the UN Human Rights Commission's 46th conference, which is currently being held in Geneva.

After the elections on 18 March, it will be the new government's task to include the international commitments in the field of human rights in national legislation and to exactly comply with them, Frambach said. On the basis of the new comprehension of democracy in the country, civil and political rights have to be consolidated and the people's right to self-determination has to be fully guaranteed.

DKP Members Received Military Training

LD2702134190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1035 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Frankfurt/Oder (ADN)—In the mid-1970's, on the instruction of National Defense Council Chairman Erich Honecker to then-Minister Heinz Hoffmann, later Heinz Kessler, the National People's Army (NVA) facility in the Springsee (Frankfurt/Oder) Area was prepared to give military training to FRG citizens. This information has been acquired by journalists from the newspaper Neuer Tag, which appears in the area. They had followed up a report by the FRG news magazine DER SPIEGEL in its 1 January 1990 issue that an illegal partisan army, which was in the event of crises to carry out terrorist attacks and to free prisoners, was trained in the GDR and recruited from DKP [German Communist Party] members.

In today's edition of the paper, journalists report that they found a strictly sealed-off camp by the Springsee on the edge of an NVA troop training area. They emphasize that in terms of content and organization, and also as regards material provision, guarding arrangements and the maintenance of secrecy, the training there took place fully under the responsibility of the former Ministry of State Security. This fact had emerged following complicated research made through the Ministry for National Defense press department, according to NEUER TAG.

The NVA made the facility available, and was instructed to support the basic military training by providing instructors. This took place up until 1988. Initially, a course lasted three months, then only one to two weeks. According to NEUER TAG, service clothing was NVA uniforms provided by the Ministry for State Security. The training was generally military training, providing basic knowledge, and hardly extended beyond a soldier acquiring his basic training. Beyond that, the major portion of the time was reserved for military-political topics.

The Frankfurt journalists were not able to establish if there were agreements between Honecker, Erich Mielke, and Herbert Mies. Those running the camp by the Springsee say they had no knowledge of this training. They only knew about explosives training for NVA members, the border troops, the Navy, and probably also paratroopers, who according to the former offensive military doctrine were to be dropped in the opponent's hinterland. This type of training course had become more seldom in recent years. The three civilian members of staff at the camp told the journalists that they had to leave the camp when "guests" arrived at the Springsee. The facility, where the building was well camouflaged, included 34 beds, a kitchen, a dining room, club rooms, heated garages, two small ammunition bunkers, a small sports ground, a laboratory, and a shooting range. The visiting troops did their own catering.

Summing up, the NEUER TAG journalists conclude that this scandal falls under the subject of misuse of power by the former SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] leadership, and that this was misuse of the NVA.

Vigil Held for Return of DPRK Students

LD2402155190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1512 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—About 100 people assembled this afternoon in front of the DPRK Embassy in Berlin for a vigil calling for the return of Korean students to the GDR. They were following a call from the Dresden Technical University Students' Council.

On 24 November 1989, the majority of Korean students in the GDR were recalled to the DPRK for two weeks on the pretext of political schooling. It has become known that the students have not been allowed to continue their studies in the GDR.

Andrej Jungnickel, member of the Dresden Technical University Students' Council, pointed out that Korean students were also summoned back to their homeland from Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.

Szokai on Romanian Book Restrictions

LD2702213290 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Report on interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Imre Szokai by unidentified reporter on 27 February; place not given]

[Text] The Romanian Education Ministry has accused a good many of the Hungarian-languge books and teaching aids sent to Romania from Hungary of falsifying reality, and it has pronounced them undesirable. It made this public in a statement on 13 February, and it has not withdrawn it since. For this reason, Deputy Minisyer Imre Szokai today summoned Romania's Budapest charge d'affaires to the Foreign Ministry.

[Begin recording] [Szokai] The delivery of Hungarian books to Romania is meeting with obstacles. To be specific, the Romanian Education Ministry issued a statement to the effect that Hungarian book deliveries can only get to Romania via the Education Ministry.

[Reporter] Now a lot of people here in Hungary are collecting books; in schools and kindergartens there are collection drives. What should happen with these?

[Szkokai] I think that this helping action should be continued. And the tasks of Hungarian diplomacy and of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry are to create the conditions for these to be able to reach Romania unimpeded, not like now.

[Reporter] Did you manage to reach some kind of agreement with the charge d'affaires?

[Szkokai] He took cognizance of the communication and that I emphatically drew his attention to the fact that this restrictive measure, which can also be seen as explicitly anti-Hungarian because if they want to deliver books, for example, from Holland, it does not apply to that, at least not according to our information. And I also drew his attention to the fact that this is counter to the international commitments that Romania considers binding on itself. [end recording]

Trade, Cooperation Talks Held With Romania

LD2702190990 Budapest MTI in English 1157 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 27, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Mr Laszlo Pal, Hungarian secretary of state for industry, has suggested that Romania could have a share as a component supplier in the two cooperation deals recently struck with Suzuki and General Motors.

Following talks in Budapest with Attila Palfalvi, Romanian deputy minister of industry, Mr Pal said the parties had agreed that the two countries should in future offer a joint approach to European integration.

In January, Suzuki of Japan linked up with Autokonszern, a Hungarian limited company, to build an assembly plant, while General Motors signed a deal with Raba railway carriage and machine works, on the manufacturing of car engines in Hungary.

Although Hungary has accumulated a surplus of 80 million roubles in trade with Romania, the feeling on both sides is that if the two countries manage to solve their problems of accounting, prospects of cooperation in industry and trade will open up.

In addition to the car industry, cooperation is planned in the food industry, agricultural machine production and machine-tool manufacture, for long-term cooperation. However, it is necessary that the Romanians let the Hungarians know of their long-term plans, Mr Pal added.

Mr Palfalvi, for his part, saw the best prospects for large-scale cooperation in truck manufacture, as well as in the manufacture of the 500 cc "Mini" Dacias, which began at Temesvar (Timisoara) two years ago. Other possibilities would be in the areas of powder metallurgy, agricultural machine production and the chemical industry.

Hungarian-Romanian trade valued 603.1 million roubles last year, down on the 1988 figure of 620.7 million roubles. Hungarian exports were worth 319.6 million roubles in 1989, 12.7 million roubles more than in 1988 while imports came to 283.5 million roubles, a drop of 30.3 million roubles.

Defense Minister Leaves for Romania

LD2702211890 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] The Hungarian defense minister left for Romania. Before his departure, our staff member asked Ferenc Karpati at the airport about the purpose of the visit.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Mr. Minister, what is it that makes this trip timely? I know you have been preparing for a long time. However, nowadays one hears reports that power in Romania is slipping more and more into the hands of the Army. Is it for this reason, perhaps?

[Karpati] Now, General Stanculescu, our old acquaintance, I might even say my friend—he is the minister of national defense—telephoned me at lunchtime on 25 February to say that it would be good if we would go on a short working visit there this week. Hungarian public opinion is well aware that it could not be said there was some kind of very friendly, warm, honest relationship between the two Armies. I believe that with this Romanian leadership, with this Romanian military leadership, we will be able to change this radically. Here, it is not only a question of relations between the Armies; as a matter of fact, the two Armies can do a great deal in the

interest of the two countries' populations, their entire societies, as well. [end recording]

Warning Issued About Campaign in Slovak Press

LD2702224190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] The leadership of the Cultural Federation of Hungarian Workers in Czechoslovakia [CSEMADOK] addressed an appeal in dramatic terms to Hungarians in Slovakia. Evelyn Forro reports:

[Begin Forro recording] There are such extreme manifestations of anti-Hungarian feelings in Slovakia that social peace and even the continuity of economic life are threatened, the CSEMADOK leadership noted. They therefore warn their members and every sober-minded person to avoid provocations. It is well known from history that extreme nationalist actions, with the fueling of national conflicts, are used to divert attention from real problems. These conflicts favor the demagogic, conservative forces and justify only those who do not want the democratic transformation, writes the cultural organization for Hungarians in Slovakia.

Sandor Meszneri, one of CSEMADOK's leaders, told Hungarian Radio that they issued the appeal because in recent weeks there has been an overtly anti-Hungarian campaign in the Slovak press. The Stur Society in the Bratislava PRAVDA maintained that the southern regions want to secede, that the Hungarians are demanding border modifications. They called on the Slovak Government to take steps against the Hungarians. Sandor Meszneri stated that not a word of this was true and that the Stur Society statement constitutes incitement. CSEMADOK is planning a letter of appeal to President Havel and National Assembly Chairman Dubcek. [end recording]

USSR Troop Pullout Might Finish by 1991

LD2802113390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary could be completed by the end of the year, but the operation will definitely be concluded next year. This was said by (Bela V. Kupper), head of department at the Foreign Ministry, in NEPSZABADSAG. He added that the text of the agreement relating to the withdrawal of troops and the schedule for this would probably be prepared by mid-March. At the same time, it is conceivable that an exchange of opinions at the highest level would also be needed for this, the head of department at the Foreign Ministry said.

Social Democrats Leader Holds Talks in Vienna

LD2802095990 Budapest MTI in English 1904 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 27 (MTI)—Anna Petrasovits, president of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary (SDPH), has paid a visit to Vienna at the invitation of Franz Vranitzky, president of the Austrian Socialist Party.

Vranitzky met the Hungarian politician in the chancellor's office. The SDPH press bureau informed MTI that the friendly discussion was mainly concerned with the current state of democratic transformation in Hungary, the election chances of the Social Democrats, and actual political and economic issues.

Anna Petrasovits also conferred with Heinz Fischer, vice president of the Austrian Socialist Party, about interparty cooperation, including joint training of leading party officials.

National Assembly Session Opens

LD2702125790 Budapest MTI in English 0945 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 27 (MTI)—A few minutes after 10 AM on Tuesday, the Hungarian National Assembly started its February session.

This four-day session will be Parliament's final genuine debate. (It will assemble once more for a festive session the day before the national holiday on March 15.)

The current session, attended by 336 MP's, was opened by acting speaker Istvan Fodor.

Forty-one MP's are absent.

Bill on Minorities Submitted

LD2702134690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1008 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Speech by Justice Minister Kalman Kulcar, submitting bill on minority representation, at the National Assembly in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed National Assembly, you probably remember that at the October session, after the Constitution was amended, several deputies in the debate on the electoral law raised the demand that the electoral law ensure a parliamentary representation for the national minorities. At that time, the esteemed house did not accept this proposal because it basically would have overturned the difficultly formed consensus that had been reached at the trilateral political coordinating talks regarding the electoral law. However, the government could not brush aside a solution to the matter; instead, it promised that after circumspect preparation it would make a proposal to the National Assembly on this subject.

The essence of the solution worked out subsequently by the government was that it was expedient to achieve a guarantee for the political role of national minorities in the one-chamber parliament, not primarily by means of National Assembly representation, but by shaping a complex institutional system. The institutional forms for this could be, first, a National Assembly commissioner

for national, ethnic, linguistic and minority rights who would disclose to the National Assembly the opinions and complaints connected with these rights, and who would mediate in remedying possible violations of rights.

It would also be justified to set up a nationality council comprising representatives of national minorities as an advisory body to the government that would state an opinion in every matter affecting the minorities before a government decision is taken.

Last, delegates of the national minorities could also take part in the work of the supreme legislative forum, the National Assembly, as permanent guests with the right of consultation. Thus, they would have a means to assert their interests in the debates of parliament.

Esteemed National Assembly, the leaders of the national minorities did not agree with the solutions listed here. They insisted on guaranteed parliamentary representation. The government, especially now when the Magyar national minorities in the neighboring countries are fighting for the right of collective participation in political life, wants to avoid even the appearance of not ensuring the minorities in our country the rights they demand. That is why it endeavored to find a solution that satisfies the demands of the minorities but at the same time can be incorporated into our legal system. It was necessary to take into account the Hungarian characteristic that the minorities in our country live not in one bloc, but dispersed in various settlements of the country.

The two bills lying in front of you, on the amendment to the Constitution and on the National Assembly representation of the national and linguistic minorities living in the Republic of Hungary, which I am not submitting on behalf of the government, contain the proposed solution that accords most with the mentioned viewpoints. The essence of this is that national minorities living in Hungary should each have one representative in the National Assembly, and these representatives should be chosen, co-opted, from among its members by the National Assembly itself, in addition to the 386 deputies elected according to the regulations of the electoral law.

The bill contains an alternative solution regarding the manner in which the representatives of the minorities should be nominated. According to one version, proposals for the nominees would be made by the speaker of the National Assembly, while according to the other version, this would be made by a nominating committee consisting of delegates of the parties and the independent deputies after requesting the opinions of the organs representing minority interests. I inform the esteemed house that the government supports the second version because this solution guarantees more satisfactorily the verifiability and democratic nature of the nominations.

According to the proposed amendment to the Constitution, it would also be obligatory to ensure the participation of minorities in council self-government. It will be the law on self-government that must work out the detailed regulations for this.

Esteemed National Assembly, I would like to speak briefly about why the right of parliamentary representation should be accorded precisely to the minorities figuring in the bill. In our country, the German, the Slovak, the Romanian, and the southern Slav national minorities live in considerable numbers, grouped in organized communities. The organs representing the interests of these minorities have indicated that they lay claim to the status of national minority and to the collective political rights this entails. Among them, the southern Slav nationalities, the Serbians, the Croatians, and the Slovenes wish to form independent nationality associations, thereby expressing that although they have their own language, culture, and traditions, by means of the mother country, as the national minority [as heard], they wish to foster these separately in Hungary.

Recently, the Hungarian Gypsies, which unquestionably are an independent national-ethnic minority, established organs to represent their interests, and they signaled their claims to collective political rights. The situation regarding the Jews in Hungary is more complex. Their community is unified. There are some who consider themselves exclusively to be a religious community. Others lay claim to the status of a national-ethnic minority, together with all the legal consequences thereof. There also are a considerable numbers who, due to persecution suffered in the past, wish to live simply as Hungarians and who do not demand that they be distinguished in any manner, not even in the form of positive licences.

For this reason, due to a lack of unified opinion among the Jewish community, the bill originally submitted by government did not list the Jews among the minorities that would gain parliamentary representation. Last week, we held talks with the significant organizations, representations of the Hungarians Jews, and certain organizations such as the national rabbinical council and the cultural association of Hungarian Jews, and the national representation of Hungarian Jews indicated that a considerable portion of Jews laid claim to the parliamentary representation accruing to national-ethnic minorities. The government did not raise any objection to this, and since it is possible to draw up the text of a law that guarantees the status of a national minority on the basis of individual decision, we believe that the issue is reassuring for everyone. Naturally, the decision is in the hands of the National Assembly. However, in any event, I additionally submit the text by means of which the first section of the bill on the representation of national minorities would be supplemented, and as a consequence of which this section would read as follows:

In the Hungarian Republic, the part of the Gypsy, Croatian, German, Romanian, Serbian, Slovak, Slovene, and Jewish communities, which on the basis of the most absolute spontaneity avow themselves to be a nationality, ethnic minority—in brackets—henceforth in the

use of this law, minorities (?collectively)—close brackets—will have one representative each in the National Assembly.

We also have to inform you that the National Association of Hungarian Israelites has asked for representation not just on behalf of the Jewish community that feels ethnic identity, but also on behalf of the Jews who define themselves as a church and a religion, and this coincides with similar proposals submitted by other churches. The government has also dealt, along with the representation of national minorities, with the question of National Assembly representation of the churches. First, we received notice from the churches that they did not desire representation, and the bill was prepared in accordance with this. Following this, as I have indicated, the letter of the Ecumenical Council of Hungarian Churches reached the government, in which they do, after all, consider necessary their representation, similar to national minorities.

The government, after carefully weighing up all circumstances, decided that it could not support this request. The reason for this is not political but derives from the provisions of the laws on freedom of conscience and religion, and on the churches, which was approved by the esteemed house in the last session. [passage omitted: churches can form freely according to the Constitution, with 100 founding members. This could lead to abuses, if churches gained access to representation through numbers, or if people founded churches to get into parliament]

We must accept as a fact, unfortunately, that Hungary has a one-chamber National Assembly, to which election is by direct and secret vote on the basis of general and equal voting rights. If the representatives of various organizations were to get into parliament on the basis of other principles in significant numbers, this would fundamentally break up this system and significantly change the political results of general elections.

The government is still of the opinion that the political rights of national minorities must be solved through the complex system I mentioned at the beginning of my speech. At the time of preparing the Constitution, the definitive constitution, the idea of introducing a second chamber, too, must be considered again—now on the basis of visible practical experiences. But, due to political reasons, the compromise encompassed in the bill, because of the small number of deputies who will be elected in this way, is still considered acceptable.

The churches, and according to my knowledge, youth and other organizations, groups and autonomous organizations have voiced such a demand. However, we can only bring about their representation in a two-chamber parliamentary system. We have started working this out, but naturally only the new National Assembly and government can undertake a commitment to realize this.

Finally, a few words about why the government is asking for an extension of the time limit approved earlier by the National Assembly for the preparation of legal regulations necessary for the implementation of the Constitution. As is known, this time limit was set as 30 April. This is needed because the National Assembly has, in the meantime, declared its dissolution, thus the functioning of the government will come to an end, too, by the time limit of 30 April. Since according to the main political forces, and public opinion too, the legislative tasks of determining significance in the coming time must be carried out by the new National Assembly and government—the National Assembly has already implemented this with its decision today, which I regret, in the case of two very important laws—it is necessary that they should have enough time for this.

Finally, I would like to mention that on the basis of the agenda accepted by the National Assembly, the Constitution could also be amended through several other submittals. It would like to propose with respect that the National Assembly approve that all the amendments to the Constitution should, in the end, be formulated in one law, one structure. Thank you for your attention.

Minorities Issues Debated

LD2702234190 Budapest MTI in English 1614 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 27 (MTI)—A debate followed the presentation of the minister of justice. The minority interest representations criticized the bill in the legal, administration and judicial committee, and requested greater numerical representation. They objected to the method of nominating delegates according to designation, as in their view, it is anti-democratic and a political mistake if those concerned are unable to elect their representatives.

Several MPs noted that the best solution would have been to set up a parliament with two chambers. As this did not take place, direct representation should definitely be ensured to the minority. No other solution made outside parliament can be accepted.

Reformed Bishop Karoly Toth proposed that, similarly to the national minorities, the churches also be able to receive ten seats in parliament, and (?then) would choose the suitable persons themselves.

Lutheran Bishop Gyulan Nagy complemented this with the fact that, in his view, the presence in parliament of church dignitaries who won their mandates representing parties is useful; but this cannot imply the presence of the churches themselves in legislation.

Chief Rabbi Alfred Schoner said human rights are due all citizens in Hungary. Therefore, it is the fundamental right of the Jews that their every member decide how they determine their identities, on a nationality or religious basis. In case parliament approves the bill, then the part of the Hungarian Jewish community that considers itself a minority will acquire representation in parliament. It is important that those, who approach the issue

from a religious aspect also be able to receive representation in parliament. Through the churches and denominations, democracy can be built only in a way that entire society is represented in parliament, he added.

Academician Jozsef Bognar stressed that in case the national minorities will not be represented in the new parliament that reflects the change in system, then the republic of Hungary will have no basis to take a stand in the interest of the Hungarian minorities living beyond its borders.

MP Gyorgy Banffy made an amendment proposal: in his view, the legal measure should consider the Croatian, German, Romanian, Serbian, Slovak and Slovene nationalities, and the Gypsies who profess to be nationalities, and the members of the Jews who wish to declare themselves nationalities, as minorities. According to the MP, it should be made possible for Hungarian Jews to choose. It is a fact that many of them consider themselves to belong to religious denomination, and not anything else. This is their human and civic right. There are many who wish to experience their Jewish identity as a nationality ethnic group. This should also be made possible, enforcing the basic principles of the Constitution on the freedom of choosing identity.

On Constitutional Changes

LD2702153890 Budapest MTI in English 1423 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 27 (MTI)—In the current parliamentary session, members of parliament [MPs] first decided on amending the family law.

Under the position of the constitutional court, the law is of constitutional strength, and thus a qualified majority is needed for approval: in other words, two-thirds of the MPs voting have to vote in favour.

Parliament amended the law on marriage, family and guardianship—which was earlier amended several times—with effect from March 1.

MPs then voted in favour of the speaker's proposal to jointly discuss the bills on amending the constitution of the Republic of Hungary, and on the parliamentary representation of national and linguistic minorities living in the Republic of Hungary.

In his report, Minister of Justice Kalman Kulcsar said that, at the request of the national minorities living in the country, the government—which wants to avoid even the semblance of not ensuring the rights demanded by the minorities—proposed that the national minorities living in Hungary be allowed one MP each in parliament, and that these MPs be elected by parliament itself, over and above the 386 MPs elected under the rules of the electoral law.

Under the terms of the proposed amendment to the constitution, the participation of minorities in council self-governments would also be compulsory.

The minister of justice went on to say that the German, Slovak, Romanian and Southern Slav minorities live in major numbers and in organized communities in Hungary. The interest representation organizations of these minorities have indicated they hold claim to national minority status, and all the collective political rights which go with this. The Southern Slav minorities—the Serbians, Croatians and Slovenes—wish to set up an independent nationality federation, expressing that, although they have their own language, culture and traditions as a national minority, they wish to foster these separately. The gypsies, who are undisputably an independent national ethnic minority, recently set up their own interest representation bodies, and also lay claim to collective political rights.

The major organizations of Hungarian Jews, including the National Rabbi Council, the Cultual Union of Hungarian Jews, and the Central Board of Hungarian Jews, have also indicated that a major part of the Jews here lay claim to parliamentary representation which is due national ethnic minorities.

Accordingly, the government amended the text of the submitted bill as follows:

In the Republic of Hungary, those parts of the Gypsy, Croatian, German, Romanian, Serbian, Slovak, Slovene, and Jewish communities that profess themselves to be national ethnic minorities on the basis of the full voluntary principle, shall each have one MP in parliament.

Mr Kulcsar also told parliament that the government does not agree with the churches' receiving similar representation in parliament to that of the national minorities.

It is inexecusable, he said, that all churches be entitled to representation, as—given the several dozens of churches—the National Assembly would become a parliament of churches rather than parties.

The minister's report and the MPs' amendment proposal will now be discussed by the legal, administrative and justice committee, which is to form an opinion about the bill.

Proposal on Presidency

LD2702232290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1406 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Speech by County Csongrad Deputy Zoltan Kiraly at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Parliamentarianism in Hungary has now an almost 150-year-long tradition. It is no coincidence that in 1946, with law No. 1 of that time, this system of government was introduced. It was after such historical antecedents that in 1989 the institution of a strong or weak president of the republic became the topic of political debate. There are, of course, also endeavors aimed at the introduction of a presidential republic in which the president of the republic would, in

his person, exercise the plenitude of executive power. The government would be just a sort of assistant oranization to the president and he would not be responsible to parliament, either. In this sense he would be a strong president.

This solution, however, has now been rejected by the political parties in our country. The standpoint of the roundtable was unequivocal: The legal solutions of the 1946 republic law must be restored. In other words, a parliamentary republic must be created, and the president's place, role, and sphere of influence must be regulated in accordance with this.

The national roundtable in 1989, therefore, proclaimed the election of the president of the republic by the National Assembly in accordance with the 1946 law. At the same time, this interparty political conference also proclaimed that if the president of the republic were to be elected before the general National Assembly elections, then the election should not be carried out by the National Assembly elected in 1985, but on this one occasion he should receive his mandate from the citizens by a general vote. This agreement was not accepted by the Alliance of Free Democrats, and it vetoed it by way of the referendum.

The referendum, together with other topics, made a decision on this, in other words, whether the election of the president of the republic should take place before the general National Assembly elections or not. The outcome, with a minimum majority, was rejection of an early election. It seems, therefore, that also in our country, as a future parliamentary republic, the general rule of history can be asserted, which is to say that the president of the republic —taking his place in the presidential system—is elected by the people as in France, for example, whereas in the parliamentary systems he is elected by the body of deputies. [passage omitted on comparison with other European countries]

Esteemed house, the following are the three most important areas of the legal institution of president of the Hungarian Republic: first and foremost, how the president of the republic should obtain his office; second, the president's sphere of authority; and third, the president's relationship to parliament and government. My constitutional amendement proposal relates only to the first area. [passage omitted]

The election of the president of the Hungarian Republic is to be judged not only on the basis of legal rationality, but it has to take into consideration the concrete political situation of the transition, the party political power relations, and the potential candidates alike.

My constitutional amendment proposal essentially touches on three areas: first, the direct and secret election of the president; second, the time of the election and the time of his inauguration; and finally, that the constitutional amendment should be adopted by the currently functioning parliament.

Let me begin outlining my opinion with the third point because I feel that this is the most sensitive point of my proposal. I believe that after the compulsory interpretation of the Constitutional Court, there is no legal obstacle whatever for the present parliament to be able to amend the Constitution according to my proposal.

This whole thing essentially requires political consideration. Here, one has to take into account, first and foremost, that we are in the midst of the election campaign. One has to take into account—only do not take this from me as a qualification, merely as the interpretation of the common mood—that the social legitimacy of the present parliament is brought into question by most of the political forces and that this parliament, in trying to evaluate itself, gets confused as to its political role. Finally, one must also take into account that the method of electing the president of the republic is also a party political and a power issue, and this can undoubtedly sensitively affect the competing political forces. [passage omitted]

I think, however, that the new parliament to be formed after the elections—no matter what fine-sounding, confident pronouncements have been heard here in the recent days—is still a dark horse today that nobody knows. Only on the basis of the concrete postelection parliamentary power relations will the parties be able to take a stance, from a party political viewpoint, as to which solution is more favorable for them. Because of these uncertainties, on the basis of exclusively political considerations, I might even say that in the present parliament it is not a happy thing to submit the constitutional amendement.

The political considerations, however, have another side as well. The factors of uncertainty—and by this we mean the real power relations on the basis of the elections—make it virtually certain, or rather in spite of them it can be taken for certain, that in the new parliament there will function a multiparty government of a weak coalition, struggling with the counterweight of strong, oppositional political factions.

A counterbalance of this unsteady government could be a president of the republic authenticated by the people. On the other hand, if the parliament-elected presidential model operates, in which the outcome—in other words his election—is hallmarked by political skirmishes just as in the case of the government, well, in this situation the elected president will not really be able to represent the neutral power of authority in the protection of constitutional government.

And let us add to this that the two-thirds majority needed for the constitutional amendment—and in this we begin to resemble the future parliament—will evidently be more difficult to achieve by those who come after us.

If parliament elects the president, that also, naturally, has its advantage. In this event, undoubtedly, the compromising nature of the person of the president becomes

more apparent because already the nomination of candidates, but the election too, would depend on the agreement of the determining parties within parliament. As a consequence of this, the president's relationship with the parties would presumably become more direct and they would reciprocally show a greater readiness for compromise. At the same time, in accordance with the presently valid rule of law, the role of the president of the republic, whose sphere of authority today is weak, would weaken further after the parliamentary parties' nomination and electoral agreements.

Direct election, on the other hand, would strengthen the president's independence because he would not be getting his mandate from parliament. It would increase his political prestige and his social legitimacy because his power would derive directly from the electorate.

The president's sphere of influence, as I have mentioned, on the basis of the rules of law, is weak. For this reason, one need not fear that direct election would make him too strong. At the same time, this solution also has the advantage that the selection sphere of candidates would grow.

Esteemed house, finally let me just briefly dwell on the referendum and the first question that was put there, as well as on the Constitution. My self-appointed political decency makes me say this: that last October both the government and parliament—the latter also with the explanation it appended to the first question—took the stance that the time and method of the presidential election are correlated. This is true in content even if I disregard the somewhat hostile and not exactly ethical, though undoubtedly professional, manner in which the agreements reached at the trilateral political conciliation talks were torpedoed.

The electing citizens, therefore, on the basis of this, were asked to vote last November in the knowledge that while they were voting about the time of the election, they were doing so in full awareness of the legal consequences relating to the method of the presidential election. However, this kind of awareness did not in any way evolve in the minds of over 40 percent of the electorate because they did not even go to vote. And in the case of the 58 percent who took part, on account of the many kinds of contradictory and partly misleading maneuvers, no clear picture evolved.

Six thousand, one hundred and one. According to the apposite observation of constitutional lawyer Istvan Kukorelli, this will be the index number of our political public life, undoubtedly showing a very modest majority.

After the last session, the Constitutional Court created a legally clear situation. I propose that we also do this in the political sense. Let the nation as a whole be really able to decide not only about its parliament but also about its president of the republic.

Thank you for your attention.

Further on Presidential Role

LD2702225490 Budapest MTI in English 2107 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 27 (MTI)—Matyas Kovacs of the Defence Committee addressed the Tuesday session of Hungarian parliament in elaboration of the bill concerning the name change of the Hungarian People's Army. Kovacs said the committee—at the initiative of Janos Sebok, MP for Veszprem Conty—unanimously proposes renaming the Hungarian People's Army as Hungarian Army which is more in line with historic traditions. There was no contribution to the bill.

Presenting the bill on the direct election of the president of the republic, Zaltan Kiraly, MP for Csongrad Countdy, pointed out the new parliament would certainly house a multiparty government of fragile coalition confronted with strong oppositionist factions, and a president of the republic assented by the people could counterbalance this unstable administration.

Budapest MP Miklos Tamas Gaspar, the first contributor to the debate, stated he did not agree with Kiraly's proposal, while others supported the bill.

Session Continues

LD2702234290 Budapest MTI in English 1756 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 26 (MTI)—The first working day of the February session of the Hungarian National Assembly, drew to an end late Tuesday [27 February] afternoon.

The session is to continue on Wednesday [28 February] by vote on the Constitution-amending bills. MPS will decide whether the president of the republic should be elected by parliament or by referendum, take a stand on the bill concerning the parliamentary representation of national and linguistic minorities and on renaming the Hungarian People's Army as Hungarian Army.

Ikarusz Workers Demonstrate at Parliament

LD2602162990 Budapest Demestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] The workers of Ikarusz, who have been in uncertainty now for weeks, arrived in front of the Parliament in good style, in Ikarusz buses, to protest. Peter Szorenyi reports:

[Begin Szorenyi recording] It is not only the government but the council of the enterprise that are to blame for the impossible situation in Ikarusz. This was said today by (Gabor Missinger), secretary of the Workers' Council of the Budapest factory, in front of the Parliament. He pointed out that there is no need for the ignominious organizations to operate as the puppets of the leadership because they are just a burden and cost on the shoulder of the enterprise.

The secretary did not have a favorable opinion on the local trade unions either. His speech was received with much greater applause than that of trade union official Gyorgy Kovacs.

He unequivocally blamed the government for the situation. At the same time, he demanded that the government give temporary financial help for the factory and that it should give permission for the sale of 4,500 buses that was promised last December. In case of failing to do this, he warned the leadership that several thousand people might find themselves on the streets. The petition, from which the trade union functionary quoted, was received by the state secretary responsible in the matter. After this, the approximately 1,000 people and 120 buses left the square. [end recording]

Pozsgay Discusses Election Campaign

AU2702174090 Frankfurt/Main
FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German
27 Feb 90 p 6

[Georg Paul Hefty report: "There Was No Political Culture In Hungary"]

[Text] Budapest, in February—Given the present instability in Hungary, the domestic policy confusion,the intricate diversity of parties, inflation, and unemployment—how does Imre Pozsgay now assess the democratization of the communist system that he initiated years ago?

"Even taking all this into consideration, I would still not choose another alternative. In a way, these consequences had to be expected. I could not under any circumstances approve of stability resulting from a dictatorship," says the socialist reformer who, being a minister of state and second man in the government, has been responsible for transforming the regime into parliamentary democracy. "What we are now suffering as a consequence of the changes, has been the goal that I and many of us sought to reach. For us to grumble and shout now—possibly I am doing so less than others—only means that we are in the middle of the battle. This phase cannot be avoided; now former political companions or comrades from the days of the unity party are becoming political rivals in a multiparty system."

Harsh Criticism

The politician, who during the Kadar era attacked the patronage of the party by propagating the idea of the autonomous citizen, is being harshly criticized by individual opposition parties. In the fall, the League of Free Democrats and the League of Young Democrats prevented the election of Pozsgay as president and delayed transition to democracy by referendum: "I think I have enough energy to act even when and if this creates the displeasure of the opposition for whose freedom I did the most in this country." The minister of state and second man in the Nemeth government says that even though he supervises the media, he has no instrument to specifically influence them, to improve his public image, for instance. "A multiparty democracy includes the fact that you can only acquire status as a statesman with the help of the parties, and that is good." He says that, therefore, he has assumed the leadership on the ticket of the Socialist Party; he is a Presidium member of this party, together with Rezso Nyers and Foreign Minister Gyula Horn. According to opinion polls, his popularity in the last three years has been vacillating at about 35 percent. He says that this means that he has a stable quantity of followers, and his popularity is not determined by influences of the moment. In January, the newspaper DATUM published an opinion poll that showed that 37 percent of those polled said that Pozsgay was the proper presidential candidate, 24 percent favored acting President Szuros, 12 percent backed the then-candidate of the Democratic Forum, and eight percent proposed Justice Minister Kalman Kulcsar. In the summer, the reformer achieved between 34 and 36 percent.

Nervousness in Hungary

Pozsgay, who is now 56, confirms that after the parliamentary elections he will run as candidate for chief of state—no matter whether he will be elected by the National Assembly or directly by the people. "However, this does not apply if the relevant provisions of the Constitution and the respective law are hollowed out so much in the future that the role of the president of the republic will be confined to formal representation. I am aware that such arrangements exist in consolidated democracies; however, this would be insufficient in the present Hungarian situation."

Regarding the current nervousness in Hungary, which has also manifested itself in sharp notes during the election campaign, and about which the president and the prime minister have expressed concern, Pozsgay says that the economic situation in the country has further deteriorated. The government has pushed through a painfully slim budget—Nemeth talked about the danger of political suicide—however, not much is left of the former "national agreement," Pozsgay says. He adds that the opposition pretends that the government alone is asking the people to make sacrifices. "I fear that some parties are finding the struggle for votes for the 25 March elections more tempting than the concern about the nation." Last summer, a representative of the League of Young Democrats disputed that there are reform communists in Hungary; he said that there are only communists, and they must be treated as enemies. "This tone has now become sharper," says Pozsgay, who had started reforming communist systems long before Gorbachev.

No Political Culture

Does he see the danger that a political style is developing in Hungary that would be assessed as extreme by Western standards? "There was no political culture in this country for 40 years. There was an oligarchy in which one or two persons dominated politics. Now we

expect people to have a political will and to even express their political will in five minutes after they were told for 40 years not to have a will of their own. Our opponents are taking advantage of this situation. Since we have no political culture, words and deeds correspond with each other—I am not being cynical here. If somebody in this country states that a certain person will be destroyed, he means that. Such statements are mere phrases in the West, but not in Hungary."

As a matter of fact, Pozsgay is not concerned about himself, but one must not overlook the fact that people are becoming increasingly poor and that poverty now threatens the middle classes as well, that the stabilizing social strata are being destroyed. This is a cause for concern. "Various opposition parties must make one or the other sacrifice to ensure Hungary's governability, and they must stop trying to acquire a strong profile through scandals." Because it is difficult to acquire a strong profile on the basis of programs—the slogans are very similar—the parties of the political center also tried to establish a common hostile image. They claim that the achievements of socialist reformers are not being recognized. Verbal alliances are also forged that do not have a solid political basis. "Nothing good has ever come from the Jacobins," stressed Pozsgay, who was once lecturer for Marxism-Leninism and later culture minister.

Competition of the Capital

The competition between "European" and "U.S." capitalism over influence in the region poses a difficult problem for Hungary. "There are no possibilities for Hungary to influence this process. This can also be felt in relations with foreign countries that prefer the new parties." The state minister has no knowledge concerning foreign support for the individual parties, but because of various activities he presumes that different sums are involved. The government has no information from the secret service on the flow of subsidies, Pozsgay stated, referring to the bugging and observation affair that was uncovered a few weeks ago, "because the secret service has long stopped informing us about its findings, which are now passed on to radical opposition forces." The affair had come to light as a result of cooperation between the radical, liberal Alliance of Free Democrats and a major of the orthodox Communist secret service.

A European System

"I believe that it will not be a supposedly 'American' but a 'European' system that will offer a way out of this confusing election campaign," Pozsgay stressed. Those who believe that two parties or political groups will share the power in Hungary in the future are only thinking in terms of a dictatorship. The Anglo-Saxon interplay of forces does not work in Hungary. Only real pluralism, like the one that prevails in Central and West Europe, where a balance is ensured by several parties can lead to political culture and to the establishment of anti-dictatorial institutions." If this is accompanied by investments of European investors, investments from overseas will not upset the balance.

Was he disappointed that of the 700,000 members of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party only some tens of thousands joined the new Socialist Party that wants to continue East Europe's left-wing socialist traditions? "I was not disappointed but we were taught a lesson. Our calculations were wrong," admitted Pozsgay, who was ready to make some concessions to the more dogmatic "reform wing" during the last phase. A mass party, such as the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, will never again exist in the future. This does not correspond to the bourgeois traditions of the region. Most of the former party members are simply grateful that they no longer have to be members of a party. Of course, he hopes that a great number of people will support his party in the elections.

Szuros Meets With Party Chairmen

LD2602213890 Budapest MTI in English 1646 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 26 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, met Presidents Gyula Thurmer of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Tibor Szabo of the Party of Entrepreneurs, Laszlo Asztalos of the Patriotic Electoral Coalition and Sandor Keresztes of the Christian Democratic People's Party, in the parliament building, Budapest, on Monday.

The discussions covered timely questions of peaceful transition and the preparations for a new party meeting.

Meets Party Representatives

LD2802091790 Budapest MTI in English 1510 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 27 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, on Tuesday met Tamas Nagy, president of the Agrarian Federation, and Jozsef Szajer, member of the Board of the Federation of Young Democrats, in the parliament building, Budapest.

The talks focussed on current issues of a peaceful transition, and preparations for another meeting of the parties.

Diplomatic Ties With Israel Reestablished

LD2702115390 Warsaw PAP in English 1115 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 27—Polish and Israeli ministers Krzysztof Skubiszewski and Moshe Arens signed a protocol on resuming Polish-Israeli diplomatic ties in the presence of Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

An inter-governmental agreement on air transport was also signed.

Skubiszewski, Arens Views

LD2702120190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] We now have a last-minute report. At approximately 1130 [1030 GMT], the protocol on the resumption of diplomatic relations between Poland and Israel, after an over 22-year break, was signed. Here is a very short pronouncement, an excerpt from the speech by Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski:

[Begin Skubiszewski recording] The absence of diplomatic relations between our states, whose peoples, whose societies have such a long, common history—and numerous human links also exist today—is the removal of a certain abnormality, an abnormality which has not only lasted a bit too long, but which should never have existed. [end recording]

Israel's Foreign Minister Moshe Arens said:

[Begin Arens recording, in English with superimposed Polish translation] There is no question in my mind that the signed agreement on the resumption of diplomatic relations will bring the expansion, deepening, and strengthening of relations between the Polish and Jewish peoples, between Poland and Israel. This is just the beginning of a new chapter which we are opening up in our relations. I am sure that this will lead to very close and friendly cooperation. [end recording]

Later Skubiszewski Statement

LD2702192990 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Statement by Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski on 27 February; place not given—read by announcer]

[Text] In connection with the resumption of diplomatic relations between Poland and Israel, Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski has released this statement:

Today I signed with the Israeli foreign minister a protocol on resuming diplomatic relations and exchanging ambassadors. This means a return in Polish-Israeli relations to a state of normality and the opening up of new prospects of cooperation between both states. The resumption of diplomatic relations between the Polish Republic and the State of Israel in no way infringes on the interests of other states or nations; neither does it entail a change in the position of the Polish Republic on the issue of establishing lasting peace in the Middle East, based on the principles of international law and the well-known UN resolutions. Poland is ready to make a constructive contribution to achieving this goal.

Warsaw University Demonstration on Party Property

LD2702161890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Excerpt] At 1430 [1330 GMT], a demonstration began in front of the Warsaw University buildings on Krakowskie Przedmiescie. It was organized by the university's Independent Students' Union [NZS], together with the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity. During the demonstration demands were made for the transfer of some of the former buildings of the Polish United Workers Party and its satellite organizations for the use of the Warsaw University. [passage omitted on interviews with demonstrators, including indistinct passages]

Mazowiecki Letter Delivered to White House

LD2402172490 Warsaw PAP in English 1635 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Washington, Feb. 24—Poland's ambassador to the U.S., Jan Kinast, on Friday arrived at the White House to convey a letter from Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki to U.S. President George Bush regarding the unification of Germany.

The four-page letter presents Poland's stance on the international aspects of German unification, stressing the inviolability of Poland's western border and puts forth a postulate of the direct participation of Poland in negotiations concerning the security of Germany's neighbours.

The fact that the letter was delivered to the White House on Friday is significant as Bush will meet West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl to discuss German unification on Saturday and Sunday.

The Polish prime minister also addressed personal letters to French President Francois Mitterrand and Prime Minister Michel Rocard presenting Poland's stance on the "two plus four" conference on Germany.

Mazowiecki's Address to London Poles Reported

AU2602132990 Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish 25 Feb 90 pp 1, 4

[Adam Szostkiewicz report: "In English and Polish London"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The crowd of people who watched Premier Mazowiecki arrive at Mrs. Thatcher's residence during his London visit included an elderly gentleman carrying a placard with a message calling on

Mazowiecki to demand the abolition of the effects of Yalta. The lonely demonstrator turned out to be a Pole, one of the many thousands of our soldiers in the West who were forced to become political emigres after the war. With a strong united effort, these soldiers created in London the strongest center of Polish culture abroad, consisting of numerous illustrious political, social, and cultural organizations and institutions.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the first non-communist premier of Poland since the war, met with Polish London twice, and paid a private call on Edward Raczynski [Polish ambassador to the UK until end of war, and then president of Polish government-in-exile], who is a symbol of this "Poland beyond Poland," a Poland that preserves the best traditions of our nation's independence. The tone and content of the premier's remarks during these meetings clearly shows how important he considers these traditions to be.

At the Hammersmith District's town hall, Tadeusz Mazowiecki delivered a speech that was periodically interrupted by loud applause. In this speech, he apologized to the assembled representatives of the Polish emigre society for the indignity heaped upon them by previous communist administrations of the Polish state. Thanking the emigre Poles for their contribution to preserving Polish hopes for freedom and independence, and toward Polish culture, he noted that the enormity of the irreversible changes now taking place in Poland is not always appreciated. "Poland is becoming a country of a free people, including that part of it outside the national borders," said Premier Mazowiecki. " We are not always capable of experiencing joy at the attainment of goals which were merely dreams not so long ago. The greatness of our objectives and the weight of the tasks ahead of us require a concentration of efforts by the whole nation. Therefore it is all the more important that all the legal, political, and psychological barriers separating Poland from its foreign communities be eliminated." The response to this speech was applause, tears of emotion, flowers from girls dressed in national costume, and a check for another 100,000 pounds (Polish London wants to collect 1 million pounds for the premier's economic fund). However, many questions were also asked. Thus, in this hall, so full of veterans of the last war, the premier was asked to explain his attitude toward the German question and about other internal Polish topics. In reply, Mazowiecki said he did not rule out earlier parliamentary elections, adding that very important and completely free local government elections will soon take place. He stressed that the changes in Poland are firm and irreversible, and that Poland suffers no complexes on account of its neighbors who are far ahead of it. Asked about the place of Generals Jaruzelski and Kiszczak in the system of government, Mazowiecki replied that the fact that he is now in London can also be attributed to them, that he respects both of them, and that they are loyal to the cause he represents. If you cannot understand that attitude, then please at least respect it, he said.

The reasons why Premier Mazowiecki failed to meet with the Polish government in exile and Ryszard Kaczorowski, president of the Polish Republic in exile, are unclear. Apparently, "procedural" matters were the reason. In a private conversation, Kaczorowski himself said that no one had suggested any meeting with Mazowiecki to him. However, he expressed his great appreciation for Premier Mazowiecki and his readiness to discontinue the work of the so-called "Castle," in other words, the emigre authorities of the Polish Republic, once completely free elections have been held in Poland and a new president chosen. It is a great pity that this meeting never took place, because the great symbolic significance of it could only have helped the joint cause of Poland and its exiled communities. This meeting would not have harmed the Polish premier's prestige, was unlikely to offend third countries, and for many Poles would have been a sign that our artificially divided statehood is growing back together. I am convinced that Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Polish London concur on the urgent need to reestablish a Polish statehood. In order for that to succeed, it is necessary to inculcate in Poles at home and abroad a feeling of pride in their own sovereign and democratic state, and an accompanying respect for its laws and institutions. The formation of these two qualities among Polish society is also important for the success of our reforms and for the creation of a free market economy. Without these qualities, it will be more difficult to plan and pursue an effective Polish foreign policy, for the current chief objective of this policy so firmly underlined by Tadeusz Mazowiecki, bringing Poland back to Europe, is inseparably connected with this pride and respect.

The elderly gentleman with the placard, waiting for the Polish premier outside the residence of British prime ministers, was asked by Polish journalists whether he would like to return to Poland. He smiled nervously and said: "Who will give me the money to go there and buy an apartment? My English pension is hardly enough to live on."

Balcerowicz Defends Government Economic Program

AU2702143590 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 19 Feb 90 pp 4, 5

[Interview with Leszek Balcerowicz, deputy premier and minister of finance, by Janusz Jankowiak; place and date not given: "Making an Egg From an Omelet"]

[Text] [Jankowiak] Minister, would you care to remind us what the projected inflation rate for January was to have been?

[Balcerowicz] We projected an inflation rate of 45 percent for January.

[Jankowiak] What was it in reality?

[Balcerowicz] The Main Statistical Office [GUS] findings show it to have been 78.6 percent.

[Jankowiak] This is an extremely precise figure.

[Balcerowicz] The real figure is lower, because the system of price recording used by GUS does not include unofficial street sales and the GUS research for January stopped at the cutoff date of 25 January. Either way, the increase in prices was higher than estimated. One has to add that although prices rose faster, the demand limit barriers appeared much sooner than anticipated. The outcome was such that even after three weeks prices began to stabilize, and some, especially for foodstuffs, began to fall.

[Jankowiak] What was the projected fall in real wages?

[Balcerowicz] We made no specific projections, but it was assumed that this would be in the order of some 20 percent. In all certainty it will be around the 30 percent mark. Let us not forget, however, that in December the real purchasing power of wages actually rose by 25 percent. Due to this fact the statistically recorded fall in January is not the most reliable of indicators. Additionally, it has always been the case that, compared to December, there is always a noticeable drop in real wages in January.

[Jankowiak] There is talk of a 40-percent drop in real wages. But what about production?

[Balcerowicz] We made no predictions about the fall in production for January. We knew that any prediction would be inappropriate at a time when Poland is passing from one type of economy to another completely different type.

[Jankowiak] There were, however, various general estimates of the drop in production output for the whole of the stabilization period. The figures given are 5-7 percent.

[Balcerowicz] These were very broad calculations for the reasons that I have already given.

[Jankowiak] The reality that is emerging from the January figures supports these estimates. The fall in production has exceeded 20 percent. I must say that you are very calm about it. Any other minister would have started shouting: "I know what you are driving at." Do you know what I am driving at?

[Balcerowicz] I think I do. The figures that are being quoted everywhere have not been included in any of our official programs. They must not be treated as binding on the government. Regarding the 20 percent figure for January, this refers to sold production, and in January the bulk of our production remained unsold. It is still in the manufacturers' warehouses. Additionally, there have been changes in the way the value of production is costed. This has also depressed the indicator figure for January, compared to January of last year.

[Jankowiak] Are you saying that the government has not committed itself to any figures?

[Balcerowicz] In the official documents and in the economic policy assumptions, there are none of the figures that we have just been talking about.

[Jankowiak] But such calculations were used in the government's letter of intent which went to the IMF. Are we to understand that this means that the figures from those calculations have no relevance to the economic program?

[Balcerowicz] This depends on what these figures are used for. For some people they may be used to make the government accountable for its actions, for others, they may be an expression of hope by indicating that the true situation is not as black as the figures suggest it is.

[Jankowiak] Minister, does not the wide discrepancy between the January figures and the figures which circulate among the general public incline you to reconsider?

[Balcerowicz] Are you suggesting there is a need to revise the program?

[Jankowiak] Merely the need to draw the appropriate conclusions from the discrepancies between the projected and the actual progress of the economic process.

[Balcerowicz] If it is a question of economic processes, they are proceeding in the right direction and in accordance with our plans, although not always according to the projected tempo. It would be dangerous and premature to begin softening the financial controls. Only a few weeks have elapsed. It would be very easy to refuel inflation. There are many examples throughout the world that testify to this danger. Not even a larger than anticipated fall of real incomes can change this.

[Jankowiak] Statistics show that enterprises have not used the possibilities of raising the untaxable salary fund as fully as they could have. Perhaps they had no money, or they were too cautious. Do you think that given such a situation, it would have been dangerous to tamper with the coefficient 0.3?

[Balcerowicz] It could have been dangerous. Please remember that the flow of income will be strengthened in the next two months by payments from profits and increases throughout the state budget sphere. It was simply not worth the risk to tamper with the coefficients.

[Jankowiak] Minister, is there a chance that inflation will cease to be a component of the economic system? Is there not a danger that it could return?

[Balcerowicz] We hope that a speedy stabilization of prices will occur.

[Jankowiak] Will this succeed without changes to the system?

[Balcerowicz] The former system was the source of a different type of inflation, namely, a stifled inflation. It manifested itself in the shortages, the lines, and so on. There was no inherent hyperinflation in that system like

the one that we witnessed last year. The appearance of hyperinflation is attributable to the breaking away from the old system without any appropriate and sufficiently strong money controls.

[Jankowiak] Is the program lagging behind with the implementation of changes to the whole system?

[Balcerowicz] If looked at from the point of view of needs and anticipated results, without doubt it is. But bear in mind the fact that this part of the program has also begun to be implemented. If we consider it from the point of view of "technical" possibilities, then I do not think it is belated. To give an example: We are being accused of dragging our feet on the issue of demonopolising trade. In reality, however, this trade is 60 percent in the hands of cooperatives. There are also certain legal limitations in existence. Quite obviously it would be significantly simpler if this trade was formally—as it is in reality—under state control. Then all we would need to do is to denationalize it. As things stand, we had to start by prying apart the cooperative structure.

[Jankowiak] Does this mean that you agree with the view that gives a special role to the state in the transition period from one economic system to another?

[Balcerowicz] The market by itself cannot implement changes to the economic system. In transition periods the state clears the path for such changes by adopting appropriate legislation.

[Jankowiak] Exactly so, but is this only through legislation? Why not do it through an active presence in the marketplace, for example, during structural changes?

[Balcerowicz] That is a theme for a different discussion. We are talking about the appropriate role for the state in the shaping of the sector or branch, if not institutional, structure of the economy.

[Jankowiak] Has this debate finally been decided in Poland?

[Balcerowicz] I do not think so. The supporters of a more robust role for the state point to various spheres where developments have to be speeded up, and those which need active support. Personally, I have profound doubts whether the state ought to actively intervene in the first of these processes; whether, on the basis of nonmarket criteria, it should select those fields which appear ripe for development, and thereby nominate the future victors. Contrary to all opinion, this way of doing things has been unsuccessful, even in Japan. I think it is logical to apply the principle "market led support." Let the market show which fields stand a chance in a free economy. It may prove worthwhile to give support to some of these, for example, by assisting their research and development programs. In such a situation, the state does not act as a substitute for market forces, but it bases its action on the signals it receives from the marketplace.

[Jankowiak] If there is such a market.

[Balcerowicz] Obviously.

[Jankowiak] But such a market does not exist. What do we do with all those people who are going to the wall? According to the report of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, one third of our industry is simply noncompetitive in world markets.

[Balcerowicz] In conditions of such severe transition—a transition that is taking place in Poland—the function of the state is increasingly important in order to soften the severe impact on some enterprises. It would be socially unacceptable and often economically unnecessary if totally uncontrolled and spontaneous economic processes were to be let loose. There is only one criteria: The state's support cannot be all pervasive, unlimited, and unconditional.

The institutions which are engaged in administering financial assistance have to remain distinctly separate from the state budget after they have been furnished with means that will enable them to undertake their appointed activity. This is the government's plan.

[Jankowiak] Minister, what is your opinion of the way our system has reacted to the severe stabilization program? I am especially thinking of the reaction of state sector enterprises. Is it true to say that the system has simply bent under the weight of the recession, but this movement is not permanent, and when the weight is lifted, it will merely spring back again.

[Balcerowicz] Most of the enterprises have reacted by saying: "Let's dig in and see how it goes." The obvious result is that price rose to the level of demand. Public opinion is less familiar with the effect of calling up so-called basic reserves. For example, in January, state enterprises disposed of their hard currency holdings to the value of a billion dollars which they had accumulated on their bank accounts. They also limited production and they put their workers on shorter hours. In order to assess this behavior and see whether these phenomena will have long-term effects, we shall have to wait for a few more weeks. There have also been effects which we were hoping for, namely, new forms of sales, renegotiation of supply terms, changes of established trading partners, and the drop in overmanning.

[Jankowiak] But surely it is a question of proportions. Which type of reaction has been the dominant one: the one you anticipated or the one you did not want?

[Balcerowicz] It is hard to say at this moment. We know that the abolition of supply constraints would enable enterprises from the first group to avoid having to make what may be very difficult decisions for them—although such a decision may be highly desirable for the general public—and cut the cost of production.

[Jankowiak] It seems to me that one cannot turn a donkey into a thoroughbred racer....

[Balcerowicz] Or make an egg from an omelet, or a silk purse from a sow's ear. It is obviously extremely difficult

to undertake anti-inflationary operations in an economy where there are no appropriate market institutions.

[Jankowiak] What are your thoughts on the recession that the private sector is experiencing?

[Balcerowicz] According to the information that I have, more private enterprises were founded in January than were actually closed down, although a significant number of private producers suspended production in the interim.

[Jankowiak] What you have just said is diametrically opposed to the feelings and the hopes of the private sector tradesmen.

[Balcerowicz] Let us get one thing straight. No one is saying that things are easy. But not all people have realized yet that being in business for yourself means that you either make money or you go broke.

[Jankowiak] In your opinion, Minister, is there a limit to the recession which can be measured through the drop in production, or the fall in national income, beyond which one ought not to go?

[Balcerowicz] Do you expect me to give you some sort of figure? I am unable to do that, but undoubtedly there is such a boundary.

[Jankowiak] Have we not reached it yet?

[Balcerowicz] Certainly not. We must not draw highly speculative conclusions from the mere fact that production has fallen. Into this category of wild conclusions, I would add the conclusion that if production has fallen because demand has fallen, then all one needs to do is simply to increase demand and thus increase production. Such a scenario can equally cause an acceleration of prices.

[Jankowiak] Minister, the relationship between prices and wages in Poland today is a source of headache for many people. How is it possible to have high world prices and only low Polish wages?

[Balcerowicz] The relationship between prices and wages in Poland is the mere reflection of the Polish economy's level of development. Poland, as is well known, is no America, nor is it an FRG. The purchasing power of our wages cannot be the same as the purchasing power in highly developed countries. Any attempt to pretend that we have an economy where world level wages and world level prices prevail would quickly lead to galloping inflation. This brings me to my next observation, namely, that the presently accepted currency exchange level lowers the purchasing power of labor, because it reflects the connection that exists between prices and goods which are traded on the worldwide international exchanges.

[Jankowiak] In your opinion, is it possible to sketch out a scenario for our economy emerging from its recessionary stage after—let us hope—the stabilization stage has been successful?

[Balcerowicz] There is no way we could produce such a scenario. I know that we have come in for a good deal of criticism because of this. We are under pressure from all sides to say something concrete about something which we cannot predict with any certainty. It is simply impossible to foretell, by the use of parameters, numbers, and indices, the path a transition from one economic system to the next may take. What we are doing is a veritable revolutionary undertaking. Nonetheless, we have spoken frequently of individual stages.

[Jankowiak] There must, however, be a critical point for the whole program. What is that point?

[Balcerowicz] That is linked to the moment when we have to make a decision to relax some of the financial controls. This has to be done at the exact time—not too early and not to late. There will be a gradual recovery of the economy when we relax wage constraints and controls on finance, and after we have brought down the percentage level.

[Jankowiak] I understand that you want to avoid being too general when it is difficult to be specific. I equally accept that it would be imprudent to step outside the parameters set by the fixed timetable. One simply cannot announce over the radio and television, for example, that on 1 April we have a fully functioning market system. It would seem to be essential that we know what we are striving toward. Minister, what is a "social market economy"?

[Balcerowicz] It is a privatized economy where the state, apart from carrying out its classically recognized functions, is also active in two fields, namely, it combats monopolies and it creates the conditions for social security. In West Germany, for the phrase comes from there, the supporters of a social economy place themselves somewhere—in my personal opinion—between the liberals and the social democrats. The beauty of the phrase is that it lends itself to different interpretations.

Fate of Former PZPR Leaders Revealed

AU2302121890 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 20 Feb 90 p 1

[Marek Rudnicki report: "Who's Who—Now"]

[Text] Stepien has probably gone abroad. Natorf is not going to Mongolia. Miller and Wiatr belong to the authorities of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SDRP], but Krol is looking for work or, as they say in Poznan, chasing after work. Rumors are circulating throughout the country, just like they have always done and will continue to do for a long time.

What is true and what is not? What is happening to the members of the last Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] leadership?

The last first secretary of the Central Committee, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski (64 years old), is setting up an SDRP theoretical journal, which has been thrust upon his shoulders. He has just returned from a week's vacation in the Mazury lakes.

The SDRP Central Executive Committee has absorbed Leszek Miller (44), Politburo member and Central Committee secretary; Zbigniew Sobotka (38), Politburo candidate member; and Slawomir Wiatr (36), Central Committee secretary.

The following Politburo members have retired: Kazimierz Cypryniak (56); Zbigniew Michalek (55), who was also Central Committee secretary; Janusz Kubasiewicz (62); and Zdislaw Balicki, Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary.

The following are fulfilling their party functions socially, meaning that the end of the PZPR has made no difference to their professional lives: Czeslaw Kiszczak, minister of internal affairs (65); Florian Siwicki, minister of national defense (65); Wladyslaw Baka (54), president of the Polish National Bank; Janusz Reykowski (61) director of the Psychological Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences; Wiktor Pyrkosz (49), director of the "Teofil" plant in Lodz; Iwona Lubowska (48), principal of the Adam Asnyk College of General Education in Bialystok; Gabriela Rembisz (53), foreman at the "Stomil" plant in Poznan; and Zdzislaw Swiatek (46), shift supervisor at the "Czerwone Zaglebie" coal mine. All these people used to be in the Politburo. Another Politburo member, Marian Orzechowski (59), can be considered a professional politician. He is chairman of the Parliamentary Club of the Democratic Left, and was head of the PZPR Deputies Club before.

Politburo candidate member Marel Holdakowski (52) has been ill for some time. Of the Central Committee secretaries who have not been mentioned yet, Marek Krol (37) is once again editor in chief of the Poznan weekly WPROST; Wlodzimierz Natorf (59), who was transferred from the Central Committee to the Foreign Ministry, intends to resume his profession; and Marian Stepien (61) is, as we know, professor of Polish literature at the Jagiellonian University.

Establishing the fate of Manfred Gorywoda (48), former Politburo member and first secretary of the Katowice PZPR Committee, caused us the greatest difficulty. One thing is certain. In an interview in the sixth issue this year of the TAK I NIE weekly, he said he would "like to return" to the economy. He believes he will find a place for himself somewhere. He is a sabbatical employee of the Warsaw Main School of Planning and Statistics, but has no specific plans at the moment.

Independent Gdansk Daily Newspaper Launched

LD2202214490 Warsaw PAP in English 1956 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Gdansk, Feb. 22—The GAZETA GDANSKA, an independent daily, hit the newspaper stands for the first time in Gdansk today.

"The daily does not intend to be local because Gdansk is a centre not only in the regional dimension but thanks to its rank in the national and international scope as well," reads an editorial in the first issue of the paper. GAZETA GDANSKA wants to refer to the tradition of a daily of the same name which appeared between 1891-1939.

Statistics Released on HIV Virus Carriers

LD2602220790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1615 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] The first cases in Poland were registered in 1986. Compulsory tests for blood donors, hemophiliacs, and foreigners who are candidates for university studies have been introduced. Voluntary tests were introduced for high-risk groups. As of 15 February 1990, 721 Polish citizens—almost three- fourths of them drug addicts—have been found to be infected with the HIV virus.

Interview With Defense Minister Stanculescu

AU2602174390 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 18 Feb 90 pp 1, 3

[Report on interview with National Defense Minister Victor Atanasie Stanculescu by Sergiu Andon; place and date not given: "The New National Defense Minister Victor Atanasie Stanculescu, On Opinions and Remarks 20 hours After Taking Office"]

[Text] [Andon] "Less than 20 hours after the appointment" (as the new national defense minister was to note by looking at his watch with military precision), Colonel General Victor Atanasie Stanculescu was kind enough to make known some of his thoughts, views, and intentions in the office he now holds. The eminent interlocutor has promised a meeting with broad circles of the press after some 10 days, when he will be up to the mark with the new facts in the Army, from which he was temporarily separated while—for one-and-a-half months—he held the office of national economy minister.

To begin with, I have written down the following statement:

[Stanculescu] It is a great honor for me to be entrusted with this mission. I have been an officer since 30 December 1949, and I am the third generation of officers in my family; that is, I am following the military careers of my grandfather and father. Taking over this office, I contacted all commands, which conveyed congratulations and assured me of their adherence and respect for the decision made by the current leadership of our state.

[Andon] Consequently, are you convinced that your appointment enjoyed the agreement of the Army?

[Stanculescu] I have come from Mr. Ion Iliescu's meeting with Army cadres. Judging by the response of the more than 700 participants and by the telephone calls from territorial commands, I think that there are no other kind of signals as far as the prospects for honoring the mission entrusted to me are concerned.

[Andon] Do you share the viewpoints of the officers who protested?

[Stanculescu] I do not only share those viewpoints, but others, too, and not only those of the officers, but also the viewpoints of the troops, who have justified demands as well. These are normal concerns, because a host of serious problems have accumulated due to a prolonged indifference toward the elementary living conditions of the Army, beginning with food and clothes.

[Andon] What is your opinion on the recent promotions? According to some views, they should not have taken place.

[Stanculescu] Since attention was drawn to it, I think that this problem exists. It has to be studied carefully in order to clarify things.

[Andon] Are influential positions in the Army still held by a great number of Communists?

[Stanculescu] The desire being that the Army should stay the country's Army, we have to bear in mind the political pluralism which we advocate and we have to bear in mind that Romania is turning in a new direction, in order to become a European Romania. We have to rethink actions within this very broad framework.

[Andon] The Securitate [Ceausescu's Intelligence Service] has been placed under the supervision of the Defense Ministry. What are your plans in this respect?

[Stanculescu] First, I have to see what the current situation is following the measures taken so far. We have to keep honest people and remove compromised ones. This is a long, but necessary process. "Long" does not mean that it can be prolonged.

[Andon] Does the Securitate still exist?

[Stanculescu] Not as a notion.

[Andon] But as people?

[Stanculescu] There are people who—after verifications prove that they are not compromised—have to be used. However, I am convinced that great attention is necessary so that no seed will be left from which a dark branch may ever again emerge.

[Andon] Consequently, the Army actually controls the "Securitate?"

[Stanculescu] I would say that the Army has dismantled the Securitate from an organizational viewpoint; as far as the presence of some people is concerned, our citizens may fully trust that the Army will never ever allow the emergence of such a monster, as the former institution, to harm our country.

[Andon] Will you carry out more cadres changes?

[Stanculescu] Considering that there are changes throughout social activity, my answer is yes, so that the Army joins the present and future political climate, as best as possible, as an element of stability which the people trust, so that they may always say "the Army is with us!"

[Andon] Could the Army be manipulated in the direction of different interests?

[Stanculescu] I believe that the very consensus reached with representatives of the political parties on my appointment is an indication of my answer.

[Andon] Thus, you can guarantee that the Army will not get involved in political games?

[Stanculescu] The whole Army, not only I myself, can guarantee this.

[Andon] What is your opinion about the complaint by some young officers against General Chitac?

[Stanculescu] Any request or notification has to be examined with great care, especially since we do not want to create a vendetta tradition.

[Andon] Have any officers been executed because they did not want to fire at the people?

[Stanculescu] This situation was never reached, because the former regime was swiftly overthrown by the revolution. This was also our chance, the chance of the military. This is one more reason to express thanks to those who made the revolution.

[Andon] What are you going to do with the people who are compromised?

[Stanculescu] At this time, we have to define them as such, and then the Prosecutor's Office and the Court, which are independent, will make the decisions in this respect if they think that this falls within their responsibilities, while we will comply as is only natural in a democratic state.

[Andon] Can you confirm the presence of foreign mercenaries during the days of terrorist actions?

[Stanculescu] No I cannot; I have no information in this respect. There are opinions and assessments in this respect, but no proof could be provided.

[Andon] Would you please describe the style in which you will lead the ministry?

[Stanculescu] My style will entail contact with other people, greater optimism, a smile more often on my face, and greater attention to each person, in order to ensure his dignity and also the democratization process in the Army. It has to become a modern Army that will match a modern Romania.

[Andon] Broaching this question more in the way of...the Economy Ministry, what percentage of the modernization process is for military equipment and what percentage for the "modernization" of cadres and inter-human relations?

[Stanculescu] Bearing in mind the latest discussions on the situation in the Army, I am not yet able to provide such an exact estimate; however, I can say that, in principle, action has to be taken to improve the quality of life, something that will have positive effects on other areas as well.

[Andon] From what preconditions do you start to establish a qualitatively new military discipline?

[Stanculescu] We have to revise current regulations, enable the military cadres to express their views freely and to move under conditions of freedom, and we have to improve the quality of life in garrisons and ensure a vertical dialogue—from minister to the soldier—without any go-between to distort truth.

[Andon] Will the new Army need more or less funds in the State Budget?

[Stanculescu] This year Romania faces particular problems in redressing the economy. I therefore think the Army should not be a greater burden for our country. With the means at its disposal, it should be able to distribute efforts in such a way as to achieve the best of results from its availabilities.

I want to emphasize that we will constantly make efforts to satisfy both the Army and the people. In connection with the new political situation, we will meet the trust bestowed on us by those who represent today's political pluralism in Romania.

Stanculescu Proclaims Securitate 'Neutralized'

AU2402185190 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] At a news conference in Bucharest today, National Defense Minister Colonel General Victor Atanasie Stanculescu answered questions put to him by mass media representatives from Romania and abroad. Here are excerpts from this news conference:

[Begin recording] [Stancalescu] I consider that the Army is no longer on alert. It has taken up positions in certain areas where it carries out its regular duty of ensuring better security for these targets, both for our state bodies or, as requested by the leadership of the National Peasants Party and the Liberal Party, for the protection of their headquarters for the requested duration.

[Unidentified reporter] Can you give us some details, if it is possible, about the changes within the Securitate: old personnel, new personnel?

[Stanculescu] This is an interesting and vast issue, but most difficult for both the Army and public opinion. What we are dealing with here is the task of taking an institution to its zero destination, while creating the necessary cadres to set up an institution equivalent to the FBI in your country.

Of course, the new institution will not be staffed with the same cadres as the previous one. A process of takeover and recruitment is under way. We scrutinize the cadres of the old Securitate to see who was involved [in the repression of the December 1989 revolution] or not. If we find out that they were involved, then we turn them over to the investigation bodies. As far as recruitment is concerned, we aim at hiring many young army officers who participated in the revolution. Such a process cannot be completed in a couple of weeks; it requires permanent supervision, so as to assure the Romanian citizens that the army ensures democratic freedoms and prevents any would-be activities of the former apparatus. In practical terms, the old apparatus of the Ceausescu Securitate has been fully neutralized and we are in control of the situation.

We do not want to prevent any peaceful demonstrations and will not intervene against demonstrators. However,

we will no longer permit any forceful entries into governmental buildings or into the buildings of the political parties. In this respect, we will grant assistance to the police when it cannot cope with situations that may occasionally arise. [end recording]

Reveals Former Composition

AU2702220990 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] The ROMPRES News Agency received from National Defense Minister Colonel General Victor Stanculescu, the following communique:

Because of the repeated questions of the population regarding the [word indistinct] and the structure of the former State Security Department, we mention the following: The troops of the central and territorial Securitate apparatus, except for the number of personnel working in the technical and communication departments and the Securitate troops, set up according to structures and regulations specific to the Armed Forces, on 22 December 1989, numbered about 8,400 cadres.

As far as the structure of the former department is concerned, this was made up of units and formations of which several categories can be mentioned.

The first category was designed to carry out reprisals and the oppression of any forms of action for democracy and for the fundamental freedoms of citizens, and to stop those who were in complete opposition to the Ceausescu clan's interests. In this respect, an example is the (?Fifth) Guard and Order Directorate and the Counter Information Directorate. This latter group was in charge of controlling all sectors of socioeconomic life and of the state, including the palace of the National Defense Ministry and the Interior Ministry.

Likewise, the former Directorate of [words indistinct] violating the legal provisions.

These directorates included about 1,600 officers and noncommissioned officers, of which 1,100 have been eliminated from the ranks of active cadres. The difference represents young cadres recently employed in the above-mentioned directorates and those who were sent to the instruction units of the Army [words indistinct] where they cannot carry out [word indistinct] actions.

Another category was made up of those structures—the former First, Second, and Third Directorates, and other auxiliary formations—which, through their duties, were meant to protect the Romanian state against some external or internal [words indistinct] such as the actions of foreign espionage services, provocations of a nationalist nature, and actions of some diversionist groups from the outside which jeopardize public order and tranquility, as well as to carry out the activity of collecting information from the technical, scientific, and economic areas.

The units in this category included about 1,400 officers and noncommissioned officers. Although a large part of the cadres of these directorates were carrying out their duties, there were, however, situations in which, as a result of the abusive practices of the leadership of the former State Security Department, some cadres were ordered to carry out missions of a repressive nature. As a result of this, so far 210 cadres have been relieved of their duties and have been passed to the military tribunal to answer for exceeding their duties. [remainder of item indistinct]

Stanculescu: No Interference With Demonstrators

AU2602154290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0955 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 26/2/1990—The minister of national defence, Colonel General Victor Atanasie Stanculescu, met on 24 February with Romanian and foreign journalists at a press conference. Answering questions, the minister stressed among other things that the Army was no longer on the alert. The Army ensures the security of both state bodies, and the head offices of the National Peasant Party and the National Liberal Party on request from their leaderships. Speaking about the changes in the ranks of the security forces, the Romanian minister said that the tendency was "to bring down to zero" that institution. Adding that, practically speaking, "Ceausescu's old security machine is fully neutralized and under control," General Stanculescu said that "we now aim to have many young armed forces officers who took part in the revolution in the new organisms."

On the 18 February events in Bucharest, General Stanculescu said the Army had made a last attempt to show it was not a repressive force. "Since the honour of the army was tainted, I wouldn't invite anyone to make another similar attempt."

In principle, we will not prevent any peaceful demonstration, we will not interfere with demonstrators. But we will no longer allow anybody to break into government buildings or political party offices.

On the role of the special anti-terrorist units during the revolution, the Romanian minister said that those had been ordered to protect foreign embassies in Bucharest and airports, a mission which they fulfilled. Competent bodies are now looking into the details: Should any departure from the orders be found, anyone involved would be removed from those units.

Interest was shown by participants in the press conference in Bucharest's tunnels which, they said, they would like to visit. Assuring them that such a visit would be organized, the minister stressed: "As a rule tunnels can serve as shelter for the population in time of war and as civilian defence centres. Such tunnels exist in France, Britain, Switzerland and other countries. I would like you to give selective coverage to this matter."

In answer to another question, the minister said: "PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] President Ion Iliescu has recently met with a group of generals whom he thanked for their activity since the revolution the time for which they were called out from retirement along with other aging generals who should normally be retired. There are 20 of them in all."

Interview With Chitac on Role of Army, Police

AU2202122490 Paris AFP in English 1107 GMT 22 Feb 90

[By Jacques Boyer]

[Text] Bucharest, Feb 22 (AFP)—The forces of law and order in Romania do not want to be used as an instrument of repression by the provisional revolutionary administration, the Minister of the Interior General Chitac acknowledged in an interview with Agence France-Presse.

The Romanian police, who were paralysed when the headquarters of the government were attacked by 200 demonstrators on Sunday, would again be overwhelmed in the event of major disturbances, he said. But the army should remain merely as an instrument of dissuasion. "The army is currently an element of dissuasion," he said. "It must not fight in the street against the population." He acknowledged that neither the military nor the police wanted to intervene any more to put down demonstrations after 45 years of an authoritarian regime."

Explaining why the forces of order took a passive attitude during the attack on the headquarters, he said: "The police, which has been separated from political influence, remained expectant, and the army took the same attitude." He was sure that such incidents would not occur again and noted that there were "limits" to police intervention. If unrest involved thousands of people, the police would be overwhelmed, he said. "We do not want to use methods which could hurt the population. We recognise that in general people are justified in the demands they make."

The minister, who has been accused by some officers of participating directly in repressing the first demonstrations against the dictatorship of Nicholae Ceausescu at Timisoara in mid- December, said that he did not intend to resign now. The general, who has denied these accusations said: "After the elections (due on May 20), we shall see."

Nicu Ceausescu Views Former Regime's Mistakes

AU2602195090 Paris AFP in English 1812 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Rome, Feb 26 (AFP)—Executed Romanian leader Nicolae Ceausescu's son Nicu said his father "made a serious mistake" in failing to relinquish power at the right moment and introduce reforms in an interview published here Monday.

"The changes in Romanian could have occurred without bloodshed and above all by avoiding the expeditious death of my parents," Mr. Ceausescu told the Italian magazine Oggi.

Nicu, 39, said he was "convinced reforms would have come about even if (his) father had remained in power".

Interviewed at a Romanian prison where is awaiting trial on genocide charges, the younger Ceausescu denied that he had ordered troops to fire on demonstrators in Sibiu region, which was under his control.

"I always wanted to understand the reasoning of the people. I don't understand why I'm in prison, but I have faith there will be a fair trial," he said.

But he added, "Maybe I didn't do enough for the people. I'm sorry."

Asked how he felt about democratic elections due to be held in Romania, Mr. Ceausescu said he did not know if the communist party still existed, but that if so, he would vote communist.

Oggi published a photograph of him looking thin and bearded alongside his brother Valentin, held at the same secret location, and a separate photo of their sister Zoia in her cell.

Daily Lists Profiles of Government Ministers

AU2502152990

[Editorial Report] Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian on 10 January, page 3, under the rubric "ADEVARUL Introduces Romania's Government," with two 350-word biographical notes on:

Nicolae M. Nicolae, foreign trade minister and international economic cooperation at that time [he resigned on 26 January for "health reasons"];

Constantin Gh. Popescu, light industry minister, born in Malu Commune, Dimbovita County, on 18 May 1935, who is described as a graduate of the Industrial Chemistry Institute of Iasi, former deputy minister of light industry until 1981, when he was dismissed; he was reappointed deputy minister of light industry in 1984 until 1987, when he was again dismissed after a "violent exchange with the former dictator"; until the revolution broke out, he was director at the Garments Central Department.

Bucharest ADEVARUL on 11 January, under the same rubric, carries on page 3, three 300-word biographical notes on:

Nicolae Stefan, minister of agriculture and food industry, born in Ploiesti on 18 December 1923. He is described as graduate of the Bucharest Agriculture Institute, a university professor, and member of the Academy of Agricultural and Forestry Sciences; in 1975 he was "moved to the Foreign Trade Ministry as first deputy

minister in charge of international economic cooperation"; from 1978 to 1986 he was Romania's ambassador to Iran;

Andrei Plesu, culture minister, was born in Bucharest on 24 August 1948. He is described as a graduate of the Bucharest Plastic Arts Institute, university lecturer, and author of several books; in 1982, he was dismissed from his posts and sent to work as an "unskilled worker" in a Bucharest factory; he refused and "stayed unemployed for several months," after which he earned his living doing odd jobs in Bucharest and the provinces;

Victor Murea, oil minister, born in Cluj on 21 March 1935, is described as graduate of the Bucharest Oil and Gas Institute and former deputy minister of petroleum;

Corneliu Burada, transportation minister, was born in Sarateanca commune, Buzau County, on 26 October 1929. He is described as a graduate of the Bucharest Railways Institute and former deputy minister of railways; in the early eighties, he was "dismissed from the party" following the "transcendental meditation affair," after which he worked as an engineer in a factory;

Bucharest ADEVARUL on 16 January, under the same rubric, carries on page 5 two 300-word biographical notes on:

Nicolae Dicu, mines minister, born in Stejari commune, Gorj County. He graduated from the Bucharest Mining Institute, after which he worked as engineer in various Jiu Valley mines; in February 1989 he was appointed deputy minister of mines; he is described as a "sociable, tough, but fair man."

Ioan Folea, geology minister, born in Bucharest on 23 August 1930. He graduated from the Bucharest Institute of Geology and Mining Technology and "in 1961 was sent to Vietnam where he worked for several months in asbestos drilling"; in 1981 he was appointed geology minister.

Daily Against Full Privatization of Agriculture

AU2402160390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1116 GMT 24 Feb 90

["Cooperative Farms and Privatization"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/2/1990—One can hardly understand the calls for a full reprivatization of Romanian agriculture thus reverting to the situation 30-40 years ago, says Gheorghe Stanciu, holder of a doctor's degree in agricultural sciences, in the article "On Privatization in Agriculture" run by "ADEVARUL."

Leaving aside state agriculture, which should be separately discussed, the author shows from the very beginning that nowhere in the country were cooperative farms what they should have been. The system was conceived and put into practice according to a borrowed experience and, above all, forced upon farmers, it was a way to exploit their work and rob them of their profits. The Stalinist- type cooperatives which became widespread in Romania were in fact a means to remove any interest, pauperize life in villages, discourage farmers and alienate them from agriculture, making it bankrupt.

This does not mean that the diversified associative forms, the cooperative farms in general are not to the producers' advantage. Almost in all Western European countries cooperative farms prove viable and prosperous as they back the producers and safeguard them from the unpleasant surprises of the free market. Knowing that today the individual farmer can hardly resist to the free market which will also be introduced in Romania, the associative way becomes more often than not compulsory. In the context, the idea of full and unconditional privatization would mean in Romania, instead of taking the experience of the Western countries with an advanced agriculture as an example, to wipe out everything, including the very large investment projects carried through with so much sweat.

The revert in time would be a bankrupt regression as another beginning should be made on the way of associative, cooperative and competitive agriculture required by a free market, the author opines. That is why he suggests that after giving part of the agricultural land to the farmer's usage or ownership, the remaining areas be maintained in cooperatives where work should be done on completely new bases, taking inspiration from the experience acquired by farm cooperatives in France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden as well as according to the decisions freely made by the cooperative or associated members.

Brasov Weekly GINDUL LIBER Published

AU2702125490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1210 GMT 27 Feb 90

["GINDUL LIBER—Another Independent Publication"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 27/2/1990—The first issue of the "GINDUL LIBER" private-funded weekly has appeared at Brasov, in central Romania. The eight-page periodical contains information and commentaries on political, economic, cultural, ecological and sports themes.

Students Weekly BUNA ZIUA Published

AU2702145990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1251 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 27/2/1990—"BUNA ZIUA" (Good Day) is a new independent weekly for all, issued by representatives of the Bucharest students under the supervision of Virgiliu Mihalache. The weekly prints reports, notes news items and articles on subjects of general interest in the Romanian life such as "life and democracy," "Brancusi: a Patriarch," from the history of

Romanian banknotes," and on mythology, sexology, miscellanea etc [quotation marks as received]. Special stress falls on cultural events so as to get the readers acquainted with the conceptions of the great personalities of the Romanian culture and civilization.

First Private Weekly OBSERVATOR Published

AU2402173590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1528 GMT 24 Feb 90

["Mass Media—'OBSERVATOR' the First Private Newspaper"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/2/1990—"OBSERVATOR" ["OBSERVER"] is the first private newspaper in Romania. It is a weekly which intends to promote free initiative and freedom of opinion, competence and competition in all fields of activity. The weekly advances the idea that anyone and anything can be analyzed and criticized by anyone and anywhere, that nobody can pretend to hold the monopoly of truth and is irreplaceable.

The paper announced that it will work in keeping with the law as long as the law reflects the interests of national progress, journalist ethics, morals and common sense, and it will defend dignity, democracy and freedom. Belonging to no political party or grouping, the paper is an independent organ of opinion.

In its four pages, the weekly, the director Octav Buruiana carries news items, feature reports, commentaries and articles on political, economic, social and cultural events in Romania.

"OBSERVATOR" supports the market economy and is itself an example, being financed by private money, voluntary contribution to the first private enterprise in Romanian mass-media.

National Democratic Party Issues New Magazine

AU2402174190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1533 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/2/1990—"OBLIO" is the name of the National Democratic Party's monthly the first issue of which has come off the press. The magazine will cover Romanian problems, as well as questions of European and world interest.

The first issue carries the platform-programme of the National Democratic Party. A commentary on "the exercise of democracy and freedom" is significantly entitled "An Invitation to Reflection." Another commentary "Romania and Europe" underlines the Romanian nation's violent emergence to freedom, which proved how deep and how strong its European roots are.

Opinions are also published on market research seen as essential in future, along with a survey of Romania's economic growth in the course of time.

"OBLIO" dedicates many pages of its first issue to culture in Romania and in other countries.

Liberal Party Leader on Government, Elections

AU0902195690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1827 GMT 9 Feb 90

["An Interview With the National Liberal Party Leader"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 9/2/1990—The "Les 4 Verites" broadcast of the French TV Station "Antenne-2" included an interview with Mr Radu Campeanu, secretary-general of the National Liberal Party. Referring to the recent creation of the Provisional National Unity Council, Mr Radu Campeanu said, inter alia, that that was "the first political victory" of the opposition parties and that the National Salvation Front Council, as a political party, would enter the elections on an equal footing with all the other political groupings.

In connection with the date of the elections, Mr Campeanu said the National Peasant Party, the National Liberal Party and the Social Democratic Party had suggested the government to postpone them for autumn as the numerous political groupings emerged after the revolution were not ready to enter an election race. The National Liberal Party itself, as a historical party which managed to readily create its necessary structures throughout the country and already boasts 100,000 followers, does not think it is ready for an election campaign. The government, however, rejected the proposal formulated by the three parties, Mr Campeanu said, adding that access to the mass media, to the television in particular, was still relative but there were promises of things getting better.

Minorities Present PNUC With Declaration

AU1302141890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1251 GMT 13 Feb 90

["Political Life—Declaration of Eleven Ethnic Minorities"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 13/2/1990—A declaration, an outcome of the consensus reached by eleven ethnic minorities, to which the Republican Party also adhered, requests the new power body in Romania, the Provisional National Unity Council, to adopt a declaration or assume the declaration of the National Salvation Front Council with regard to the ethnic minorities' rights.

The adoption of such a declaration is all the more necessary now as in certain areas of the country chauvinistic nationalist forces have been put in motion again, calling to direct confrontations, the document shows.

It requests the assertion of the minorities' individual and collective rights in accordance with international documents, with the experience and practice of European democracies, and with the decision of Transylvania's union with Romania in Alba Iulia.

We want to contribute to stabilizing political and national relations, firmly convinced that we should take an active part in the creation of the much expected genuine democracy in our country. To this end we suggest:

Elaboration and firm application of a decree-law which should proclaim a crime and deed against the unity, friendship and brotherhood between Romanians and citizens of other nationality;

Establishment until 15 April of the schooling network for the next school year with tuition in the ethnic minorities' language, avoidance of a rash incomplete or partial, local solutions;

The soonest possible organization of a Ministry of Ethnic Minorities;

Elaboration, with the next Constitution as a basis, of the ethnic minorities' law.

Party of Romanian Freedom and Democracy Formed

AU1602141290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1123 GMT 16 Feb 90

[The Parties Introduce Themselves—The Party of Romanian Freedom and Democracy"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/2/1990—The Party of Romanian Freedom and Democracy, its president Stelian Cinca says, is for a gradual and progressive passage to a market economy, the organization of enterprises and trade upon the principles of economic profitability and efficiency, the fast privatization of small-scale trade, of industry and culture, the restoration of the Romanian traditional farmsteads by giving the land back to peasants (arable land and meadows) but in keeping with the possibilities of work, consumption and capitalization of one family.

The party also supports the free organization of all employees in trade unions, the stability of the work place and minimal wages for people to live a decent life, the right to strike, a five-day work week.

Democratic Labor Party on Platform Principles

AU1902145890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0948 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 19/2/1990—The paradox of modern society, i.e., the fact that the pluralism of interests cannot actually penetrate into the power structures but through specific political ways, has been the element that inspired the foundation of the Democratic Labour Party, states Iosif Boda, one of the founders of this party in a talk with an editor of "TINERETUL LIBER". According to this party's outlook, in the process of economic, political and social restructuring of Romania, the newly created free trade unions will play a highly important role.

Acknowledging that, owing to the sad historical heritage from which they start, there are many similitudes between the political platforms of the groupings which intend to achieve social welfare, Iosif Boda specifies that "the differences reside more particularly in the diverse ways whereby they want to attain such a goal. The tactics of the Democratic Labour Party is similar to that of Karl Popper's theory of small steps assimilated by the European democracy." He also shows that his party's platform must not be mixed up with that of the social democrats. "Though we have rather similar points of view, this does not mean identity," Mr Boda said, adding: "We admire the achievements of the European social democracy, but after 42 years of dictatorship with all its consequences we cannot pursue the same classical ways with all their long stages."

The Romanian reality requires pluralism and in this respect "we think there must be a strong and constructive opposition which can any time provide an alternative to power. The activity of a principled opposition seems equally significant as the exercise proper of political power."

Liberal Socialist Party Calls Miners NSF Tool

AU2102124690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1218 GMT 21 Feb 90

["Statement by the Liberal Socialist Party"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 21/2/1990—The government cannot lead under the pressure of hooligans and the parties cannot make a constructive contribution to the development of the democratic process under menaces either, shows a statement the Steering Committee of the Liberal Socialist Party sent to the news agency ROMPRES.

Such a stand was taken after the meeting with the miners come to Bucharest on Monday to protest against the previous day's events.

"The miners, a genuine 'group of pressure', against the background of condemning the events our party most resolutely rejects, forbade any dialogue by slandering the political parties and directly accusing them of being behind the attempts to socially destabilize the country," the statement says.

The Liberal Socialist Party considers that the miners let themselves cheated, involuntarily turning into a means of the NSF [National Salvation Front] and its leaders, though they claimed to be 'independent' from any political opinion. "The Liberal Socialist Party regrets the conflictual, artificial situation created by some political

forces interested in opposing workers to political parties and, implicitly, compromising them," the statement also shows.

Agrarian Democratic Party Outlines Objectives

AU2102163590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1539 GMT 21 Feb 90

["Parties Introduce Themselves—Again on the Agrarian Democratic Party"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 21/2/1990—We wish to take an equal part in the nation's effort for economic, political, social, cultural and moral reconstruction of Romanian society, said Dr. Dumitru Teaci, member of the party's Provisional Steering Board.

The party's platform-programme shows that its aims are to give the land back to those who till it, to give farmers long-term credits to buy animals, farm machinery, implements, fertilizers and others, to encourage animal farming, to assist the youths to resettle in the countryside, to pay all experts who work in the countryside higher salaries.

The party also pursues to develop agricultural education, research and designing, to protect, conserve and increase the fertility of the land, forests and waters through development projects, to give subsidies to farmers in mountainous areas to increase soil fertility, and develop agriculture and tourism, to support every measure conducive to village life revival and modernization, to expand and modernize rural roads, to assure old- age pensions to agricultural workers so that they may live a decent life.

Opposition Leader on Council Participation

AU2202194890 Paris AFP in English 1620 GMT 22 Feb 90

[By Bernard Estrade]

[Text] Bucharest, Feb 22 (AFP)—The three main Romanian opposition parties are not hostages of the National Salvation Front through their participation in the multi-party Provisional Council of National Union (PCNU), the country's main opposition leader said here Thursday.

Radu Campeanu, head of the National Liberal Party, told Agence France-Presse that the PCNU, which some pro-government newspapers have described as an embryonic parliament, was the theatre for "real dialogue," which was "defusing the bomb of civil war."

"We are not prisoners of the Front, we always have the option of resigning," Mr. Campeanu said in an interview on the eve of the provisional council's second bi-monthly session.

The session is expected to hear a report on the economy from Prime Minister Petre Roman and to discuss a law aimed at protecting public buildings against attacks such as that carried out by an angry crowd who briefly held a top official hostage at the provisional government's central Bucharest headquarters last Sunday.

President Ion Illiescu then vowed to take action to prevent further unrest.

Bucharest Radio had said that the coming council session would also adopt a new electoral law, but Mr. Campeanu said that although the NSF and the opposition had reached a consensus on the law, it had not yet been drafted.

Various sources said that the new system is likely to involve a two-chamber parliament with a president who would be elected by universal suffrage but who would be answerable to parliament.

Mr. Campeanu was elected last week to be one of the council's five vice presidents, of whom three are members of the NSF.

Half the council's 253 members were appointed by the NSF, and the remainder are made up of the opposition groups, which each hold three seats.

The groups consist of the three "historic" opposition parties - Mr. Campeanu's party, the National Peasants' Party and the Social Democrat Party -which fought the Communist regime of Nicolae Ceausescu, plus some 35 more recently created parties.

The task of the council, which is presided by Mr. Illiescu, is to run the country until the first free elections, set for May 20.

The council is the first multi-party body in the Romanian government since 1946, before the Communists came to power.

It holds plenary sessions every two weeks, and has an executive bureau which meets more regularly.

Asked whether the frequency of plenary meetings was not too low, Mr. Campeanu said: "The bureau is the supreme state body, and it works continually."

The creation of the PCNU had "defused the bomb of civil war, and nobody had an interest in the continuation of almost permanent conflict, which did not create an atmosphere conducive to the holding of elections," the opposition leader said.

Mr. Campeanu reaffirmed that the three "historic" opposition groups were continuing their efforts to have the elections postponed until next September in order to give them more time to organize.

However he said he had gone back on a request he made three weeks ago to have representatives of the three parties included in the present government.

Also on Thursday, the council's commission on minorities met to discuss the situation of the country's large ethnic Hungarian population.

And a Christian Orthodox priest who spent a total of 21 years in prison here under the Ceausescu regime returned from the United States and called for a major shake-up in the church's hierarchy.

Father Gheorghe Calciu Dumitreasa called on young priests to rise up against the Church hierarchy, which had been "collaborating for 40 years with Communism" and had failed to reform itself since the overthrow of the former regime.

The priest, who went into exile in the United States in 1984, also celebrated a mass in Bucharest for the victims of the December revolution, and said he had come to Romania as a visitor to bring help from the American Orthodox Church.

*** Paler, Brucan on Role of Front, Protests**

*** New Dictatorship Feared**

27000003B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 31 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

[Octavian Paler article: "The Last Letter to Silviu Brucan"]

[Text] If you had read my books, you would have known many things about me, certainly more important than those which you know. You would have known, for example, that I was (and I add, have remained) an idealist. This explains some of my limitations; I do not have the coolness of a politician and I am not interested in politics in the sense that Napoleon thought of politics, as the art of using circumstances or being used by them. You would have known, for example, that I was (and I add, have remained) a loner. This would have helped you to understand that my intervention in the political arena has nothing to do with any alignment and regimentation. I simply said to myself that I could be more useful at this moment because of the truths in which I believe (relative, of course) than by maintaining a comfortable silence. What should I do? As a writer, I was not able to rid myself of history.

During the Ceausescu era, more precisely, during the last 12 years, I wrote four antitotalitarian books, including one which was the subject of an expose-type public trial, in 1985, two years after I had been removed from ROMANIA LIBERA, for political reasons. You would have known, moreover, that I always had respect for dialogue and that I was tormented by intolerance. In brief, one of my defects, the difficulty of coming out of my solitude without running the risk of becoming inappropriate, helped me to learn, down deep, that the real nightmare of dictatorship is the individual. As long as the individual has his own identity and is not annihilated or crushed, no dictatorship can be perfect. Only when the individual does not have the resources to oppose or allows himself to be confiscated and manipulated, does totalitarian power triumph.

I am making this aside to elucidate an important fact. Mr. Brucan, I do not consider myself to be a political person, except in the Aristotelian sense of the word. I have no political ambition. I am a writer and I remain a writer even when I am temporarily working as a journalist, like I am now. I am not concerned with political "games," but with the desire to be in agreement with my own conscience. To be sincere, in this climate infected by passions, hatred, big words, pronounced abusively, and by behind-the-scenes maneuvers, in which the struggle for power—I remember 1946 and not only that—breaks up, more and more, the illusions of the revolution, I wonder if idealists and romantics still have any purpose in the arena. It seems that this is not their time and that it is even dangerous for them to come with their good faith and great naivete into an organized hubbub of darkness, according to an old technique where if you dare to resort to reason you can be lynched. Perhaps I am making a mistake by saying that I do not understand what is happening and that I am delaying in making a decision, as far as I am concerned. But, for the present, I do not want to remain indebted.

Your response brought me out of my illusions with a logic to which I felt foreign. Of course, we are from different worlds. And it was, perhaps, my mistake to believe in a dialogue which was, probably, impossible from the very beginning. I did this because I saw people frightened once again, I saw people terrified since they know that dictatorship arises not only from chaos but also from a bad understanding of the idea of consensus, based on the rejection of objections. Over the years I have learned that unanimity is a totalitarian concept and the first step toward a totalitarian regime is threatening the individual with the abstract will of the "others," who are never named, "closely united around them," as has been said for some five weeks so far. The public good is transformed from a logical imperative (since the individual is interested in the general good, albeit only so he can enjoy his share of the good) into a means of intimidation for doubts, questions and the desire to think. With the aid of this concept of public good, one reaches the point (and some memories are still very fresh) of the confiscation of civilian society by the single voice which claims to be the absolute interpreter of the general will. The individual is presented with the argument that he does not understand the great commands which, by chance, are the very ones which are destined to silence any objections. The original sin of any dictatorship is, as is well known, intolerance of critical opinion. For this reason, I believe, at the present time, a sincere exchange of opinions, carried out beyond the realm of vanities, political ambitions, and egotistical calculations, would be more important than a visceral confrontation of passions and making a fetish out of superficial consensus, thus concealing dangers and imposing a monologue instead of a dialogue. This is why I was prompted to become involved in the discussion of questions related to the evolution of the political situation. Justifiably or unjustifiably, I became afraid, at a certain moment, that the revolution had been hijacked. I will not enumerate

all the reasons for my fears. I did so in the article: "The Illusions Lasted Only a Month" and, to a certain extent, in my first letter to you. I would like to add one thing which perplexes me: You said: "The Romanian Communist Party is compromised," but I never heard you admit that the ideology on which it is based is compromised and that the system which allowed a Ceausescu imposed on us a long nightmare. Anything can arise from this omission.

I continue with a few specific items:

1. You have not convinced me that Romania lacks democratic traditions. Instead, you convinced me that you can speak of these traditions only with scorn and that, in this regard at least, you have remained faithful to your older articles in SCINTEIA. According to you, since there "were no democratic traditions" in our country, the "new order" imposed with force by Vishinsky's fist, did not interrupt anything in the history of the country but replaced one evil with another, even worse, evil. Is it possible to say such a thing in 1990, in freedom, and where? In the National Salvation Front? Well, we are not in the first grade of democracy school, Mr. Brucan! I ask if a leader of the Front thinks that we are barbarians who are muttering in a Europe which is tired of culture (or does not Europe have any democratic traditions!). Anything can arise from this curious view.

2. Permit me to call your attention to the fact that it was not the Front that suppressed fear and opened "a new age of democracy"—it was the Revolution! The people conquered fear themselves, in the days when they no longer feared Ceausescu's bullets. My opportunity to say exactly what I think comes to me from those who died and those who live after shouting: "We will die and we will be free." It would be inadmissible to usurp their merits and heroism.

3. You write categorically: "Those who oppose us came out after Christmas when the streets were safe." We will not mention the demonstration organized by the parties, which ended with a roundtable session, which was awkward from many points of view. But the students were demonstrating evening after evening, they opposed you very strongly and clearly. There were students even in Victory Square! Many of them were shot, at a time when the Front did not exist, but now you are telling them that they did not come out until after Christmas, when the streets were safe? How can we regard such a statement?

4. I know that we cannot rebuild in a month what the dictatorship has destroyed and broken over decades. I will not mention the comic incident in which you chided the pre-war ministers of Romania for not appearing on television (!!) but I will dwell on the objection which you are ignoring: the lack of concern for supplying the population or satisfying other basic needs, and the alarming attention to deciding what only the people can decide—the road which the country will travel after the elections. I think about an executor of an estate who, instead of carrying out his mission, decides to appropriate the inheritance himself, and I suggest that you reflect more seriously on the truth of Montesquieu, whom you were so kind as to quote in our last conversation—to prevent abuse of power, a power which checks power should be created. But does not this principle enter into the very vague "original democracy" about which we spoke?

5. Consider the "low level" of press interest in the history of the people who represent us. I am trying not to fall once again into "irritated perplexity." National reconciliation does not need vendettas but it does need the truth. I have much to say on this subject. But I do not believe that I will be able to convince you, considering the different angles from which we view things today. You are hurrying to mortgage the future of the country, much beyond the limits of a temporary situation. I have the honor of "manicuring," that is, cleansing memory. But do you believe that there are two types of truth: one type which convinces us and another type which transforms into "gossips" those who permit themselves to speak it?

Thus, the "low level," while for several days something which I would call censure by psychological terror is being exercised. Fear, anxiety, demagoguery, instigation to hate have returned rapidly, much too rapidly. Clearly a "serious exchange of ideas"! An obvious "confrontation on the future scenarios for Romania"! Threatening telephone calls are being made, just as in the days of glory of the Securitate. The euphoria of freedom has become a memory. In its place, the horror of a new dictatorship is displayed, the reign of violence is in fashion (and you spoke about the practices of the monstrous coalition!), official figures incite segregation which divides Romanians into first class Romanians and second class Romanians, depending on where they lived at one time, openly encouraging a way of thinking which we thought had disappeared along with the delirium-producing xenophobia of Ceausescu, in an atmosphere which, by its aggressiveness, sometimes makes you think of the beginning of 1933 in Germany (at least this is what happened to me). Who would have imagined such a thing a month ago?

Aren't you frightened by all this, Mr. Brucan? Or does it seem to be normal to you? I admit, it is not to me. And I am afraid that this does not bode well. I well understand the desolation and even desperation of writers and artists with whom I have spoken, who were hopeful until a few days ago but now are fearful for the future. I understand very well the bitterness of those who are disturbed by violence, no matter where it comes from. This is something which, I believe, should be a more important concern for you than putting back into use the cliches used by the Stalinist historians in reference to the lack of democratic traditions in Romania.

Now I will return to my books and I will let you return, eventually, to your role in 1946, since I see, in may respects, history is repeating itself. Romanians are

stirred up against Romanians, enmity is becoming once again the playing card in the struggle for power, while the real problem of the country is something else—the elimination of all risks of a tilt toward totalitarianism, whatever you might call it, once again. Unfortunately, if men of good will allow themselves to be manipulated by this enmity, losing sight of the essential goal for which they are striving, one could say that Romania would not have any luck and would miss a great opportunity, perhaps a unique opportunity, which the Revolution has made possible.

P.S. If you have something to say about these ideas you can do so without my having to bother you with another letter.

* Need for Calm Cited

27000003B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 2 Feb 90 pp 1, 2

[Silviu Brucan article: "The Last Reply to Octavian Paler"]

[Text] After the polemics of ideas about democracy in Romania, I find that you have changed the ground rules and have proceeded to personal attack. I knew it would come to this.

You say that I have a "logic which is alien to you," "we belong to different worlds," that I am putting back "into circulation cliches used by Stalinist historians," that I contest the participation of students in the Revolution and other things, more serious. Let me tell you right out that I will not observe the biblical rule of "a tooth for a tooth," although I believe that it might be easy to prove to you that this polemic option will not be advantageous to you, especially in regard to the past and even the events of 22 December.

In connection with the need to learn about democracy and the need to place it on a solid and modern bases, I expressed my opinion with the seriousness which such a matter requires. I was never attracted to protochronism but I acknowledge your right to appeal to this idea in regard to the matter of democratic traditions in Romania.

In your letter you make two accusations against me which are obviously incorrect and I offer my articles published in this newspaper as evidence of this.

1. You charge, for example, that I have said that the Romanian Communist Party is compromised but that I never admitted that the ideology on which it is based is also compromised and you conclude by insinuating: "Anything can arise from this omission." But, in ROMANIA LIBERA of 21 December 1989, my article "Without-isms and Without a Party" was based on the very statement that the socialist ideology is compromised. I said at that time that concepts such as socialism and communism "have no meaning and, in any case, no relation to social reality."

2. Your second charge concerns my statement that "those who opposed us went out after Christmas when the streets were safe." Although you know very well that I was referring to the leaders of the three parties which oppose us, in a transparent attempt to exonerate these people, you claim that I was referring to the students and you construct on the basis of this turn of the pen the accusation that I want to deny the role of the students in the Revolution. But, in ROMANIA LIBERA of 28 December, in the article "The Revolution of the Youth" I wrote clearly: "The most characteristic factor of the people's Revolution in Romania in 1989 is the courageous and enthusiastic participation of the youth." Also, my statement "The youth have been, are, and remain the shock force of the Revolution!" appeared in LIBERTATEA of 9 January 1990.

I find it hard to believe that you did not know about these articles of mine in your newspaper.

Finally, you raised a very serious issue, namely the recent acts of violence.

I have been and I am still bothered by threatening telephone calls, incitements to hatred and acts of violence and in general, by the tense atmosphere created among different social categories in our country. We informed the representatives of the historical parties about this social tension and we asked them to stop organizing shock groups systematically sent to demonstrate in front of our headquarters. We maintained that the discussions and negotiations among us should have a civilized tone and a suitable political climate, without pressure from the streets. I should acknowledge that we received the agreement of the representatives of the National Liberal Party at the meeting on Friday, 26 January, and the meeting on Sunday, 29 January, when at 5:00 pm they decided to take their people away from Victory Square. Unfortunately, we did not get the same agreement from the leaders of the National Peasant Party although we reminded them that whoever sows the wind reaps the storm.

Now the major problem is to calm the political atmosphere. I believe that the public statement which I made in defense of the brave workers in Brasov after the demonstration in Brasov on 15 November 1987 gives me the right, on the one hand, to thank the workers who came en masse on Sunday and Monday from throughout the country to express support for the Front, and, on the other hand, to appeal to them to make a contribution to establishing political calm in the country. As for the students, the National Salvation Front hailed, from the very first moments, their admirable participation in the revolution and it believes that the students have given evidence of a high civic awareness in the manner in which they have participated in the political life of the country. The participation of the students in the establishment of democracy is essential. We believe that the student organizations should be given an important role in building Romanian civil society.

Since, at the present time, the supreme order is to establish a political climate of detente, I have decided, Mr. Paler, to stop our polemics fight here.

*** Immediate Presidential Elections Urged**

90EB0254A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 31 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

[Article by attorney Paul C. Vlahide and Professor Constantin Pintilie: "A Possible Solution"]

[Text] The situation created by the revolution of 22 December 1989 confronts a person in the legal profession with the most disconcerting legal problems, some of them vital, with profound implications for all citizens of the country. He is faced first of all with the problem of the manner in which sovereignty is exercised. Sovereignty is of the very essence of a state. The sovereignty of the Romanian state is currently exercised by an authority imposed by the revolution and performing functions expressing the requirements of the revolution. This authority is made up of a small council having 11 members and a larger body of 147 persons.

Contrary to the practice followed in all revolutions, the government formed after our revolution did not proceed to abolish the Communist constitution, by which we anomalously continue to be governed. This circumstance entails serious consequences from the legal viewpoint. Any change that is violent or is brought about by violation of the existing legal system by the very administrator of this system implies necessary and immediate abolition of the previous constitution, even if it is not followed by its immediate replacement with another one.

From this viewpoint our revolution continues to be marked by a strange singularity. We are assured that the revolution was spontaneous and nothing justifies a different opinion. Oppressed by the morbid despotism of an Asiatic satrap obsessed with the luxury enjoyed within the secret confines of his tribe, the masses demanded the fall of the tyrant. They got it, paying with their blood to do so. Born in the struggle, the National Salvation Front was formed by bringing together persons not linked to each other by the secrets of a conspiracy but by pure coincidence of ideas and sentiments, and moreover unanimous ones.

But however bizarre it may seem, the act of organization was carried out and imposed. It exists and generates effects of law. Legality is a problem of causality. To produce valid effects, an act must rest on a foundation of law. It otherwise remains simply an act, no matter how grandiose it may be in itself, and is constantly exposed to the danger of being negated and replaced by another act.

To impart complete legitimacy to the current state of affairs, it is necessary first of all to abolish the constitution of the former republic, continuation of which is an anomaly and a danger. Immediately after the anachronistic constitution has been abolished, it is necessary to confirm all the laws and regulations issued between 22 December 1989 and the date of the confirming decree, which should be later than the date of abrogation of the constitution.

The sovereignty of the state should be exercised by a wielder of power with decisionmaking authority. The hiatus between the abolished power of the dictatorship and the power to be installed legally should be ended as promptly as possible by election of a president of the country from among several candidates, in the event that it is not possible to arrive at a consensus between the political parties and the National Salvation Front. Election of the president should take place far in advance of the parliamentary elections scheduled to be held in May. Election and commencement of operation of a presidential authority is an extremely urgent matter, in view of the alarming economic state of the country, devastated by savage exploitation and in danger of not being able to emerge from its slump. Less than 40 days after the revolution, the spectre of a power vacuum threatens, and its prolongation demands that remedies be found with the utmost speed.

The strange way in which the revolution occurred in Romania is obvious. In all the countries of Eastern Europe, the structure of the political power of the state changed gradually and peacefully, so as to allow democratic pluralism and the appearance of political parties, while by and large the economic management structures remained the same as they had been in the past. As for Romania, we were the only ones to abolish at a single stroke the entire political structure of the autocratic ceausescu [as published] state; to fill the political void created, the National Salvation Front was established in the midst of the revolution.

In coping with the difficult situation of the first weeks, the Front currently finds itself confronted by the opposition to it that is expressed by the political parties formed later and by the serious economic condition that has arisen in the meantime. Both situations heighten the dangers of a double vacuum, that of political power and that of the power of economic and administrative leadership. Both lead to destabilization of the country.

A remedy must be found, because the new objective situations generate the necessity of adapting them to the new legal conditions.

How and by whom?

Immediately, by a presidential authority invested with decision making power, even if only temporarily, by a president elected by universal suffrage from among the candidates of the Front, those of the parties, and independent candidates when no consensus is possible. The parliamentary elections can therefore be held on the date scheduled or may be deferred to a time agreed upon by the political parties, thus ensuring that the elections will be conducted in a calm and civilized manner.

The presidential elections, separated entirely from the parliamentary ones, do not require prolonged preparations and cannot be deferred, because *the alarm of economic disaster* has been sounded. The vital sector of our entire society, the economic sector, which involves the entire population of the country, has entered into a process of paralysis due to the vacuum of authority. A number of economic units have slowed down their operations, and others have suspended production. The entire economy of the country is feeling the repercussions, which are progressively threatening the life of society itself with devastating chaos. It is a truism clear to all that wages, paid under pressure, for which there are no corresponding goods and services necessarily entail *inflation* and *unemployment*, which cannot be stopped once they have started. There are perceptible signs that the situation is beginning to get out of hand. A collapsing economy and an absence of authority are a prologue to general disaster for the country. It is the last moment for halting the process of breakdown which threatens us. To win a revolution at the cost of spilling blood to gain political liberty and then to lose its benefits through degeneration into anarchy means to heap the most hideous scorn on our own work. A revolution once won cannot and should not become a victory miscarried. A president of the republic elected with the utmost dispatch and invested with the power of making indispensable decisions is now the only guarantee of rescue from the situation in which we find ourselves.

Careant consules ne quid detrimenti, republica capiat. This was the cry of alarm of the Roman senators when they saw the country in danger. "Take care, consuls, that no danger overwhelms the republic." And we say now, take note that our revolution and even our country are now in danger."

Pristina Students Repeat Demand for Democracy

AU2702201590 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] While the general situation is gradually returning to normal and pupils in primary and secondary schools are returning to classes, Pristina University is still not functioning. Students of the Albanian nationality met today at the Technical Faculty to protest and express their discontent with the situation. About 4,000 students listened to a proclamation which states, among other things, that the Pristina University students reiterate their demands, made at previous meetings. The students, however, presented additional demands:

They demanded the immediate dismissal of Skender Karahoti from the position of rector of Pristina University; the dissolution of the university branch of the Youth Federation; and that the proposal that 28 March should be made a national republican holiday be rejected and proclaimed instead as a day of mourning.

Despite the numerous appeals to return to classes, the proclamation states, we, the students of Pristina University, are forced to continue to boycott classes until normal study, work, and living conditions are guaranteed. At the same time, the proclamation calls on schoolchildren, young people, and other citizens to refrain from street demonstrations and to express their discontent in other forms.

During the meeting, the students acclaimed the proclamation while it was being read aloud. The students then dispersed quietly and in small groups, while the militia did not intervene.

25 Feb Disturbances Assessed

AU2702201990 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] The collegium and the general people's defense and social self-protection committee of the student center in Pristina reached the conclusion that security, calm, and conditions for normal work could not be guaranteed due to the grave political situation. For this reason, they proposed to the appropriate Pristina authorities and to the university to examine the situation at the student center.

The communique of the joint meeting of these bodies describes what happened on 25 February at the student center during the curfew. The communique says that tranquility and public order were disrupted at the student center after 2100 when students started whistling, turning the lights out in the dormitories, making various noises, and shouting: Glory and democracy.

At 2130 the police intervened and threw tear gas grenades into some of the dormitories of Bloc 8. The communique says that the smoke and a fire in Room 16, on the second floor of the bloc, caused panic among the students, some of whom climbed down from the windows by using their sheets. Fortunately no one was hurt, but three students asked for first aid because of the effects of the tear gas and one of them was kept in the Medical Faculty's clinic.

An official communique will be issued after an investigation by the authorities.

Over 2,000 Schoolchildren at Protest

LD2702191190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1111 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—Over 2,000 schoolchildren from Pristina secondary schools of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationality today requested at a protest meeting in the hall of the Boro i Ramiz sports center that the demands they put to the competent organs a week ago be fulfilled. [words indistinct] The expulsion from teaching [words indistinct] those teachers who took a lead in and encouraged their pupils to participate in the demonstrations. At the schoolchildren's protest meeting the demand was repeated that Serbs and Montenegrins attend class in the mornings and that members of the combined militia unit of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs ensure their safety.

The schoolchildren will wait, it was said, until (?1700) tomorrow for these demands to be fulfilled, and if the competent authorities do not accept them, they will leave for Belgrade. [words indistinct]

Albanian Demonstration Prevented in Sibenik

LD2702192190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1633 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Sibenik, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—Today the employees of the Sibenik Municipal Secretariat for Internal Affairs and the State Security Service twice prevented a group of about 100 citizens of Albanian nationality from meeting in the main city square. The Albanian nationals were today preparing peacefully to demonstrate through the town and subsequently in the part of it for the people shot in Sibenik, on Mt. Subicevac, to lay wreaths as a mark of respect for the casualties in Kosovo.

As a result of intervention by the employees of the Municipal Secretariat for Internal Affairs and the State Security Service, about 10 Albanian nationals were taken to the militia station because they had not registered their stay in Sibenik.

Roundup on Latest Events in Kosovo

LD2802095190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2135 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, February 27 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Forum for Human Rights and Legal Security of Citizens has appealed to the population of Kosovo and

all federal, republican and provincial organs to create the necessary conditions for respect of the rights of every individual citizen in the province.

After today's debate on a report submitted by the forum's working group, it was decided that solutions to the present problems in Kosovo should be sought in talks and that "political action should be aimed at a thorough reappraisal of the present policy and practice in Kosovo through a broadest possible political dialogue."

Also stressed as essential was the need to achieve such a level of legal security and respect for the rights and freedoms of all citizens, as would enable the earliest possible lifting of the state of emergency imposed in the province.

These stands have resulted from the debate at the meeting, which was told among other things that the forum had received 165 petitions—57 from the country and 108 from abroad—on violations of human rights in Kosovo. Eighty-five per cent of the petitions were from ethnic Albanians.

After prolonged political strikes in Kosovo, production in the province is gradually returning to normal. Only a factory of welded tubing in Urosevac, whose workers went on strike a month ago, was out of operation today.

A large number of schoolchildren in Kosovo were absent from lessons, and all schools in Urosevac were closed. Early in the morning groups of students went out of schools in Pristina and Vucitrn chanting "democracy." Larger-scale absenteeism was recorded in schools in Pristina, Podujevo, Titova Mitrovica and Lipljan, while the attendance in other schools in the province was reported normal.

Pristina Radio's desk transmitting programmes in Serbo-Croatian has decided to break away from Pristina Radio-Television and set up an enterprise on its own. The desk issued a statement saying its longstanding efforts to ensure normal work conditions have failed. It pointed out that the new enterprise would have nothing to do with Pristina Radio-Television and that Serbo-Croatian programmes would not be transmitted from 5 a.m. tomorrow to the time the new enterprise was set up.

Spokesmen for the Pristina branch of the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, the Young People's Parliament, the Kosovo Societies of Philosophers and Sociologists, and the initiating committees for the social democratic and farmers' parties of Kosovo today appealed to citizens of the province to refrain from demonstrations and all other street protests. They stressed the need for ending the strikes and responsibly approaching the fulfilment of work obligations, so as to avoid further aggravation of the already grave economic situation in the province.

The Pristina section of the Serbian and Montenegrin association Bozur today issued a statement saying "it has become clear that the Albanian alternative groups have estabished parallel power in Kosovo and have succeeded in mobilizing a large section of the (ethnic) Albanian population upon a platform of destruction and hatred for everything Yugoslav and, especially Serbian."

At today's rally about 4,000 ethnic Albanian students of Pristina University decided to abide by their formerly stated demands and not to attend class until those were met. The students demanded the lifting of the state of emergency in the province, release of political prisoners, halting of the process of differentiation, withdrawal of the police force from the province and replacement of the provincial leadership.

Serbian and Montenegrin secondary school students today also held a rally in Pristina, demanding that ethnic Albanian students who organized demonstrations among their schoolmasters and teachers who instigated students to take part, be removed from school. They said they would set out for Belgrade tomorrow evening if their demands were not met.

'Most' Collectives Resume Production

LD2602212590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1431 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—After several days of work stoppages most of the Kosovo collectives today resumed production. According to figures from the provincial secretariat for economy, only employees of Urosevac's tubes factory are still not at work, they stopped production as much as a month ago. Some workers are working in Mineks, too.

There is a similar situation in the Kosovo mines where workers are still subject to the compulsory work orders. The Kisnica and Novo Brdo mines are not in operation, whereas the Goles mine is. A group of workers of Albanian nationality stopped production this morning and gathered outside the mine headquarters asking to be given an explanation for the withdrawal of transportation for workers.

It was explained that Kosovotrans declined to transport this collective's workers until further notice because of its outstanding debts and lack of funds. Only workers who have been called in are working at the Stari Trg mine, while the rest of the workers are on leave.

After several weeks of boycott and solidarity with the students' demands Pec shopkeepers opened their shops today. Production was resumed in all collectives of this municipality.

Leaders of Pristina Protests Reportedly Paid

AU1602115990 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Feb 90 p 7

[P.M. report: "Underground Passages and Dugouts for Albanian Terrorists"]

[Text] It has been learned from reliable sources that terrorist strategists are paying direct organizers of the recent wild disorders in Pristina streets DM500 each, leaders of street groups DM100, and their assistants DM50-DM80. The barricades that construction machinery could barely move were easily passable to those who knew the pass signal. During the day, the chosen people were allowed to pass by car if they blew their horn three times: first two consecutive quick toots and then, after two seconds, the third one. During the night, the horn was replaced with headlights: one would dim the lights twice quickly and then the third time more slowly, just as was done with the horn.

The newly built Albanian houses are erected according to the financiers' strictly established plan. High walls that surround yards easily develop loopholes. A careful observer cannot fail to notice that there are certain blocks in the walls which can easily be moved. The houses have several secret exits and, in densely populated places, are connected by underground passages. There are well-supplied and even better equipped dugouts in yards. When a terrorist enters a yard, he is virtually impossible to find in numerous labyrinths, sometimes several kilometers long, which most often lead to a forest or a river bank.

Committee for Albanians' Return to Kosovo

LD1602150990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1230 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, February 16 (TANJUG)—A committee for the return of ethnic Albanians to the southern Yugoslav province of Kosovo, which is a part of the Republic of Serbia, has been founded in the Kosovo town of Pec, as the Kosovo daily RILINDJA, published in Albanian, writes today.

According to the figures presented at the founding meeting yesterday evening, around 100,000 ethnic Albanians have, for economic or other reasons, emigrated to Turkey, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States, Switzerland and other Western countries.

The founding of the committee in Pec is most likely a reply to a drive which is under way in Serbia for settling 100,000 Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo. According to official figures, 260,000 Serbs and Montenegrins have moved out of Kosovo since the war under pressure from ethnic-Albanian chauvinists and separatists.

Foreign Secretariat on Asylum, Citizenship

LD1602130190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2000 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 15 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia is determined and obliged to respect the commitments under international law relating to the granting of citizenship and right of asylum, Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat spokesman said here today.

Asked to comment the demands made at today's session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia for the expulsion of Albanians who do not have Yugoslav citizenship and for its withdrawal, Vajgl said that the matter is too complicated to be used in "daily bickering". All these matters are regulated by law, which can be changed if not satisfactory, he added.

Kosovo Assembly Session Proceedings

LD1602224890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1650 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Pristina, 16 Feb (TANJUG)—Today the Kosovo Assembly gave its consent to the expanded proposal of the Federal Executive Council for starting work on changing the SFRY Constitution. The delegates also gave their consent to the proposals of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly for changing the SFRY Constitution.

The Assembly also agreed to the majority of the Slovene Assembly's proposals, particularly those regarding reforms, the freedoms, rights, and duties of man and citizen, and the democratization of the political system. Proposals 21, 22, 25 and 26 of the Slovene Assembly were, however, not accepted. They mostly refer to the abolition of the funds for the development of underdeveloped areas, the procedures for declaring a state of emergency, and some of the federation's competences. [passage omitted]

The national leanings of some delegates were much in evidence in the municipal chamber during the debate on the draft law on declaring 28 March a state holiday of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. A group of delegates of Albanian nationality reacted sharply to this proposal by reiterating that "the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia is being carried out while the extraordinary measures are in effect." A remark was also voiced that "the constitutional changes have done no one any good, and it is inappropriate to celebrate the day of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, in light of the numerous victims killed last year and this year." Only in the second round of voting did the delegates grant a positive attitude, by a very small majority, to the proposed law. This proposal was nevertheless adopted without any debate in the sociopolitical chamber.

Drnovsek, Milosevic, Pancevski Policies Viewed

AU1702192790 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 9 Feb 90 p 6

[Joze Volfand commentary: "A Black Scenario Is Indicated at Present"]

[Text] On Tuesday [6 February] afternoon, which means before the Federal Assembly session, a drunk militiaman, Tomislav Isakovic, fired without any cause at two young Albanians in Janjevo, Kosovo and wounded them. He mistreated people and ordered a pregnant woman to take off her clothes in the street. This was the day after Slobodan Milosevic spoke at a session of the Serbian state leadership in an extremely hard and implacable way. For him, the Albanian people are chauvinists, separatists, and terrorists. He said this although he knew that 28 people lost their lives during the recent events—all Albanians.

Janez Drnovsek, as president of the SFRY, behaved differently. On behalf of the SFRY Presidency, he again appealed to reason and dialogue as the two straws to clutch at in Kosovo and Yugoslavia. The new program for Kosovo—economic and political—brings some details which at least show a minimum degree of agreement in the state leadership. It really does not matter how partial unanimity was reached, with delays and one kind of pressure or another. The president's speech, which again did not avoid the thesis about a symmetric responsibility for the Kosovization of Yugoslavia and for a gradual but irresistible decomposition of the Yugoslav idea, received no applause, either from the Assembly or the public. This included the public that has been directed by the Serbian leadership, and the one that has for some time been essentially at loggerheads with Serbian views on Kosovo, the political and economic reforms, and the essence of the federation. The president appeared as the president of the state and a moderate search for Yugoslav consensus is probably, or perhaps certainly, quite understandable.

The question is whether this is good for Yugoslavia. The question is justified despite two facts: the fact that the state Presidency demanded a dialogue between the leadership of the party state and the democratic alternative, and the fact that a state commission has gone to Kosovo to investigate all the abuses by the machinery of repression, especially the militia. The very discussion in the Federal Assembly confirmed how resolute, persistent, and passionately irreconcilable the strategy of Serbian politics is. POLITIKA EKSPRES in its Thursday [8 February] issue went a step further when it said: "Both Janez Drnovsek and all the other members of the SFRY Presidency should be called to account under the Constitution if it is established that state intervention because of the separatist rebellion in Kosovo was late...." Thus the call to a law-governed state, dialogue, and democracy has again been lost in the acrimony of the threats that Slobodan Milosevic hurled at the state Presidency even before the Federal Assembly session. When he did such a thing for the first time in connection with Azem Vlasi, one knows what happened. The policy of repression can save itself—luckily not forever—only with threats and by trying to find excuses for its own impotence through blaming other people.

In the same speech, the Serbian statesman, who has not yet renounced his ambition that Yugoslavia will be as he wants it or will not exist, uttered another unequivocal prediction: He hoped that Kosovo would not require armed volunteers, but if necessary, Serbia would decide in favor of that measure, too, which is to say for civil war. The statement is surprising only because the state's integrity is not in dispute for the majority of the people in Yugoslavia, and neither is their rejection of any terrorism.

However, in his Federal Assembly speech, Janez Drnovsek never mentioned the new threat of civil war. He also did not mention the 28 people killed. He also did not draw even more clearly the line between what the demonstrations for democracy are in Kosovo and what terrorism and separatism are, these latter not being exclusive to one side only. As if the magic wand of the economy will solve all the irrational traits that at this moment overflow the spiritual and ideological realms of Yugoslavia. Such an attitude, apportioning symmetric responsibility for all the pains and quarrels and consciously ignoring the relationship of forces in the country, could be possible at a different time, but not now.

Kosovo is unfortunately becoming small change which everybody is spending freely in his own way in the political game of reforms, whichever way they are understood. With everything that is tacked to it, justifiedly or not, Kosovo is currently the only Yugoslav problem which may tip the balance in favor of the anti-bureaucratic revolution forces. The Serbian leadership is playing ust this card. Therefore it immediately proclaimed the predominantly peaceful demonstrations in Kosovo as terrorism and separatism which endanger Yugoslavia. The tactics are well known. Now the Yugoslav People's Army has also been dragged into it almost fully, which may complete the confusion in the Yugoslav situation. In all this, nobody asks for a performance report on the famous promise by Slobodan Milosevic, to the effect that a unified Serbia will quickly solve the Kosovo syndrome.

The strategy of the anti-bureaucratic revolution continues—and it seems to be getting new impetus—with the Kosovo Peony Society again announcing a meeting in Ljubljana and with the federal newspaper BORBA having been put under the wing of this revolution. This can already be discerned in BORBA editorial strategy. More than interesting is the scenario written for the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], or rather the formula that is to lead to the resumption of the 14th Congress. Milan Pancevski convenes sessions of the LCY Central Committee Presidium without Croatian and Slovene delegates. Perhaps the party Statute Commission will wonder whether they are adhering to the

Statute as they should, whether they are still legitimate, and whether Milan Pancevski—said to be the most faithful advocate of the Serbian leadership's policy—wants at any cost to rely on the sound forces in Slovenia and Croatia. If the congress of the old, unchanged LCY resumes in one form or another, it does not bode well for Yugoslavia. Was it by accident that the party president sat next to the head of state at the Federal Assembly session?

Perhaps those people are right who say that despite the federal government's bright economic moves, the denouement of the crisis in Yugoslavia is nevertheless more and more likely to follow a black scenario: with the old, real socialism party, with the violent policy of the Serbian leadership which constantly parades Kosovo as the greatest danger to Yugoslavia's integrity, and with an impotent state Presidency—until May, when Borisav Jovic of the Socialist Republic of Serbia will take over the helm of the state. And perhaps the federal government will also be strong, or too strong, because at the federal level it hardly has any opposition, and because there is no indication that we will soon get a Yugoslav party that could be an opposition.

Of course it is not necessary that the denouement will follow the way indicated at present, after the events in Kosovo and after the Federal Assembly session.

Commentary on Simic, Pancevski, New Party

AU2702143290 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
21 Feb 90 p 5

[Boris Jez commentary: "Who Pushes the Non-Slovenes Into a Ghetto?"]

[Text] On 12 February, one day after their glorious meeting in Kranj, a delegation of the Alliance for the Preservation of the Equality of the Citizens of Slovenia headed by Dragisa Marojevic visited Milan Pancevski, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY]. In this way, a "principled coalition" began to be formed at the Yugoslav level, and in the coming months it will try to tell the Slovenes, by fair means or foul, what their actual interests are.

Dragisa Marojevic, who himself left the League of Communists of Slovenia last year, told Milan Pancevski that many Communists in Slovenia wish to stay in the LCY but are now waiting to see what happens. Judging by the suggestions coming from "the field," these people could begin gathering around Vinko Hafner, but the national feeling is rather strong in Slovenia and Marojevic was convinced that for this reason, Hafner would not accept such a role. He therefore proposed to Pancevski that, for the time being, the "malcontents" should gather around the Alliance for the Preservation of the Equality of Citizens, and the present leader of the Yugoslav Party agreed with that. And not only that, he also supported the "program activities" of the alliance and stressed the need for the LCY's members in Slovenia to also be members of Marojevic's alliance.

It was to be expected that Marojevic would travel to Belgrade sooner or later to woo allies, and therefore one should not get excited or even alarmed because of his "negotiations" with Pancevski; but we may ask him, by the way, why he did that clandestinely.

After this meeting and after the session of the party committee in the Yugoslav People's Army, it is becoming clear how the "principled coalition," which will try to discipline Slovenia, will be composed. Let there be no mistake: There will be no disciplining because it is clear what the great majority of "honest Slovenes" want.

In brief, Admiral Peter Simic and the great magus of the failed party congress, Milan Pancevski, will set up a new League of Communists of Slovenia, with the assistance of Dragisa Marojevic from Ljubljana. All one still has to do is to persuade a Hafner, Popit, or Albreht to gather around them the enthusiastic Slovene masses, and the rest is merely a matter of "technique." In this connection it is perhaps not even significant that the Vojvodina Communists are suggesting just now that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia should be renamed the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. If a "real" Communist Party will replace a new LCY, the enthusiasm of the Slovene masses will be so much greater! And when this happens, the Slovenes will feast for three days on bread and salt, yogurt, and "weak brandy," and following the good old Slovene custom, we will boisterously shoot into the air from all barrels of the vast stock of arms that we possess.

Joking aside, if Petar Simic does not comprehend that he is playing a dangerous game with the constitutional function of the Yugoslav People's Army, at least Dragisa Marojevic, who has lived in Slovenia for many years, should know that any juggling with interethnic relations in Slovenia could ultimately (!) lead to a sticky end primarily for him and his compatriots. If he was complaining to Pancevski that the position of the "Bosnians" in Slovenia deteriorated recently, he should also have asked himself self-critically to what extent he himself contributed to it.

I beg Marojevic's pardon, but an average Slovene does not understand the vociferous rhetoric of his alliance, which virtually calls for help from Belgrade tanks, in any other way but as overt activities of a peculiar fifth column. Of course nobody denies his right to set up a political organization and to work politically, but if he is heading a party he should come to terms with the fact that the arguments of a nine-tenths majority should also be respected. And if he acts on the Slovene political scene, would it not be "natural" for him to try to find his allies primarily there? Marojevic does not even try to do so and goes to secret meetings in Belgrade, and then he wonders that the Slovene public considers his alliance an alien body and an extended arm of Milosevic!

We have no intention of poking into any party program, but the Alliance for the Protection of the Equality of Citizens should be offered a mirror so that it may see itself. If it does not see now that it resembles some kind of Baltic Interfront, which rallies the Great Russian interests under dogmatic "internationalist" slogans, it will have to see it later, but the realization will then be even more bitter. I am not convinced that all 300,000 "southerners," who according to Marojevic are supposed to live in Slovenia, are inveterate Stalinists and Milosevic agents; they are people of a great variety political opinions and views of the world, and thanks be to God for that.

Precisely by endeavoring to represent primarily the "southerners," Dragisa Marojevic is imposing one-dimensional politics on the non-Slovenes and thus pushes them into a peculiar ghetto. By trying at the same time to conclude alliances with the most dogmatic forces in Yugoslavia, he deprives in advance the non-Slovenes of their legitimacy as a "normal partner" on the Slovene political scene. It would certainly be better for the position of the non-Slovenes if they joined normally in Slovene political life; with the development of democratic relations, the Slovenes could slowly shed the prejudices that they have about the "immigrants." However, this is probably the last thing that Dragisa Marojevic has in mind. He probably dreams about turning Slovenia into a Kosovo. Then he would suddenly become as important as Bogdan Kecman was in his time.

Slovene Opposition Questions Talks With Serbia

AU1102172990 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 7 Feb 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Sinigoj Should Tell What He Arranged with Radmilovic"]

[Text] The Slovene Democratic Alliance has issued a statement in which it states with indignation that the Slovene authorities again acted like schoolchildren and immediately ran to Belgrade when Markovic called them to talks with representatives of the Serbian authorities.

The statement says among other things:

The Slovene Democratic Alliance fears that the phrase in the statement about "...the free movement of people, ideas, goods, capital, and information" conceals an arrangement according to which Slovenia, in exchange for the lifting of the blockade and the payment of several million dollars to settle the claims, should renounce a significant part of its sovereignty.

The Slovene Democratic Alliance therefore demands that the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Slovenia should:

—immediately publish the essential content of the talks between its representatives and representatives of the Executive Council of the SR of Serbia;

—publicly explain what the quoted part of the official statement on the talks means, in which respect we do not accept the explanation that it means striving for a free market in principle. This is required by the SFRY Constitution and a number of other legal acts and there was no need to specially stress it in the statement;

—publicly explain whether in the talks it demanded that the SR of Serbia repay all the economic damage suffered by Slovenia and the economic organizations in Slovenia as a consequence of the blockade, and not only the claims due, and whether it posed the fulfillment of this condition as a condition for further talks;

—declare what it will additionally do in order to restitute the damage and to eliminate other consequences of the blockade;

—declare what it will do during its term of office in order to avoid the repetition of such consequences as suffered by the Slovene economy because of its too close linkage with the economies of other republics and provinces.

In this respect the Slovene Democratic Alliance invokes Articles 15 and 267 of the Law on the System of State Administration, on the SR of Slovenia Assembly Executive Council, and the Republican Administration Organs. The articles provide for openness in the work of the state administration organs and obligate the republican Executive Council to present reports, explanations, and opinions to, and at the request of, sociopolitical organizations (which after the adoption of the Law on Political Associations means political organizations, which include the Slovene Democratic Alliance).

Croatian Republic To Hold Elections 22 April

LD2302100190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0001 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Zagreb/Skopje, Feb 22 (TANJUG)—Multi-party elections for deputies to the parliament of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia will be held on April 22 this year, it was announced today.

The parlament of the Republic of Macedonia adopted today a law putting off elections in this republic until April 28 next year—[word indistinct] postponement is needed in order to make possible the conduction of elections in a multi-party environment.

Macedonia is still to adopt a law proposed by the republican government on political organization and association.

The Macedonian parliament also adopted today changes in the republican Constitution opening the door wide to political pluralism and legalizing existing political parties and movements, with which, it was said, a social consensus should be realized with the aim of implementing the economic reform.

The objective of the one-year period until the elections is to secure the functioning of the system and the realization of political pluralism.

The postponement also extends the mandates of the Macedonian State Presidency and government until April 1991.

Dailies View Serbian, Croat Parties

AU1601084990

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 10 January on page 7 carries, on one half of its page, various commentaries from Yugoslav media, either complete or in abridged form, on the founding of parties, the Serbian National Renewal in Nova Pazova, and the Croatian Democratic Community in Split, under the headline "Commentaries in Relation to the Gatherings in Nova Pazova and Split." No dates are given for the issues of the newspapers in which these quoted commentaries have appeared, except for a 400-word commentary "Knife and Democracy" signed U.R., which is believed to stand for Editorial Board, quoted in full, as it appeared in Belgrade POLITIKA on 9 January.

In a 400-word commentary "'Cockades' and 'Horseshoes'" by Vlastimir Mijovic, reprinted from OSLOBODJENJE, it is stated: "...What has pronouncedly been emanating from the platform of Tudjman's Croatian Democratic Community, and now from Draskovic's Serbian National Renewal, has only one name: nationalism. In fact, if one is to be absolutely precise, two kinds of nationalism: Ustasha and Chetnik nationalism. It is no longer important who started it first, who invented bloody ideas first, whether it was those who dream about a 'great Croatia' or a 'great Serbia.' Croatian and Serbian nationalists are indeed like Siamese twins: They cannot manage without each other. A joint house is too small for them. There is therefore continuous bickering and ominous quarreling, which makes everybody's hair stand on end...."

The author continues: "Many a head would proudly wear a 'cockade' or an Ustasha 'horseshoe,' for time stands still for them. They only recognize the time of judgment, the moment when they would condemn Yugoslavia according to their narrow-minded, fascist yardsticks. Sunk in imbecility, they have condemned themselves. What they are doing would really not be serious, and even ridiculous, were it not dangerous.

"For the Draskovic-Tudjman kind of program, with which the public is horrified, people used to go to prison not so long ago. Today things are different, and this is good. We live in a time of pluralism. All kinds of ideas can exist, and we must get used to that. This is what it amounts to. However, putting these ideas into practice is something else. Therefore, can Yugoslavia remain indifferent if nationalists, under the guise of pluralism, go to war resorting to their already familiar bloody methods? "Old wounds are still open. New ones would, no doubt, kill us. We must not allow this to happen," OSLOBODJENJE concludes.

Commenting on the emergence of a new party in Nova Pazova, the cited commentary from Belgrade Television, entitled "What Does Draskovic Want?" by Branka Mihajlovic says:

"At present, it is difficult to make a serious analysis of the program aims of the newly emerged alliances, associations, and initiatives for political parties in Serbia. One thing common to all of them is the demand for full political democracy—freedom of association and political activity, freedom of thought and expression, the abolition of one-party monopoly, and the freedom of press. Some of them would like to participate in elections with their own candidates and intend to transform themselves into a party.

"However, what happened in Nova Pazova, under the auspices of the already well-known Sava society, shows that open nationalist programs are entering the stage."

Assessing the program offered by the newly emerged Serbian National Renewal, the television commentary says:

"Draskovic wants national reconciliation in Serbia, but also the revenge of the Serbs, and he offers open hatred of the Croats whom he blames, with honorable exemptions, for the persecution of the Serbs in the 20th century. And a program recognizable from the dark times when blood flowed in this land was thus presented in the Nova Pazova cinema hall.

"This nationalist program—and there is no reason not to call it a Chetnik program—is offered at the time when the political stage is opening up to the citizens gathered in the freely established political organizations. This surely raises the question of how one should react to the nationalist programs that are being offered in Yugoslavia.

"We do not believe that such programs and calls for the most odious chauvinism accompanied by recognizable iconography, at a time when we want to join Europe, can find serious followers outside this room...."

A cited 400-word commentary, entitled "'Players' Without a Chance," from Marina Marovic in POLITIKA EKSPRES reads:

"Only three weeks after the Serbian party congress had declared that political associations will not be administratively banned in Serbia, those to whom this least refers have jumped on the political scene. The 'players' are known. They wear black fur hats with badges which irresistibly resemble royalist badges, they have long beards, they call for the resurrection of Serbia and revenge for the dead, for hatred of and arms against everything that is not Serbian. The name of the place where it was founded is known—Nova Pazova....

"...The appeal by the newborn political leader Vuk Draskovic to lay down one's lives again, to revenge 'every killed, injured, and humiliated Serb,' the threats 'especially against the Croats and Albanians' [Turkish term "Arnaut" used], the abolition of the Macedonians, Montenegrins, and Muslims—this is not the future that any reasonable man would vote for at free elections which the Serbian National Renewal advocates. In competition with democracy, progress, Europe, and even the convertible dinar, the program of returning to the Empire of Dusan simply has no chance....

"...As much as Draskovic's substitution of new errors for old lacks a serious appearance, there is something that is certainly serious in the sinister gathering in Nova Pazova. This is the insult. In the evening, when our people for the first time openly celebrated Christmas Eve and in their thoughts repeated the Christmas message about peace on earth and goodwill among men, all religious people must be deeply hurt that their holiday decorations are used for a revengeful battle call and to preach hatred against all who are not Serbs. Decorations, candles, Yule logs, and a hymn to Saint Sava certainly do not fit in....

"...If politics is the art of the possible, Draskovic's artistic talent is of no use here. With his first political appearance, he turned against himself even those that he could perhaps count on as allies. And if his sole democratic demand is accepted—the demand for free elections—he has signed his own electoral death sentence this very Christmas Eve."

A 350-word article by Vladan Dinic from VECERNJE NOVOSTI, entitled "Hatred Without Limits" says:

"...Dangerous nationalistic exhibitions with the scent of incense and clearer and clearer outlines of Chetnik ideas are offered by Draskovic (and his followers; we hope they are limited to those who were accommodated in the smallish Nova Pazova movie theater) at a time when democratic processes are developing all over Europe, without a return of monarchies and feudalism, with the exception of some of Albanian emigrants who want the return of a self-styled King Leka....

"The masks of nationalism (if there were any masks at all) were not taken off only in Nova Pazova, but also at the 'ecology' rally in Duvno, where even the 'special militia units' were confused by the strong nationalistic and even Ustasha outpourings of hatred. Of course, it is not only the militia, the prosecutors, and the courts (which stuck their heads in the sand like ostriches) that are responsible for excesses of interethnic hatred. Does not the fact that the 'special units' withdrew from the excited mob into the Communal Assembly building indicate that those who issue orders are also confused, confused by consequences rather than causes which have been snowballing from the political factors to the people.

"Franjo Tudjman, well-known Mass Movement fan, 'floated' along the seaside promenade in Split recently, carried by a similar nationalist wave of carving up Yugoslavia. In this play, he would quickly find a place on the stage next to Vuk Draskovic, under the condition that, as he proclaims, 'Serbia is a kingdom and Croatia a republic.' As long as there is no Yugoslavia. It is obvious that a peculiar nationalistic madness, under the multiparty cloak of the struggle for democracy (but in fact for power), is gaining momentum and picking up speed."

Branko Tudjen in a 300-word commentary in VECERNJI LIST under the title "Introducing Pluralism" says:

"...It is a fact that what was heard in Split does not favor the delicate birth of Croatian pluralist democracy, just as the Nova Pazova statements may be calmly used by the Serbian state-party leadership to put a brake on democratization in Serbia, with the excuse that it could lead to a rebirth of the Chetniks.

"What this involves is either the immaturity of these associations or an intention to gain the best starting positions in possible future Serbian-Croatian negotiations about a settlement that they certainly expect."

The article contrasts the Split and the Nova Pazova statements and concludes: "The Croatian Democratic Community, whether because of its immaturity or for other reasons, with the vocabulary adopted in Split (although some dissonance was heard) puts itself in a situation that, in addition to hindering the difficult birth of Croatian pluralist democracy it may be in the opinion of many people ranked on the same level as the Nova Pazova 'renewers....'

"Instead of scolding, one should urgently agree on rules of the game that will allow the citizens to elect their leaderships or representatives in federal organs in a free, democratic, and secret manner. On the basis of their own judgment on the results and abilities, the citizens will directly say whom they trust."

Kucan Assesses LCY's Role

LD1502131690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1847 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Zagreb, February 14 (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) has turned into one of the key factors of the social crisis and has of itself established the need for creating an opposition and perhaps even its own dissolving, League of Communists of Slovenia-Party for Democratic Renewal candidate for president of the Presidency of this Yugoslav republic Milan Kucan assessed today in a talk with Zagreb reporters.

Kucan said that the LCY is increasingly farther on the fringes of political life in which other parties are appearing, and the return to the center of events is difficult, almost impossible.

Kucan took part in a debate of the Association of Journalists of Croatia entitled 'communists: ascent or abyss.'

According to Kucan, the joint organization of Yugosalv communists has ceased to exist because of its incapability and the impossibility to do something towards resolving the social crisis. Federal Premier Ante Markovic has done more for the LCY by defending his program than the LCY itself, Kucan thinks.

Kucan said that communists in Yugoslavia must realize that the integration axis of ideology, party and army, which was present for a long time, no longer exists. Instead of a constant search for and manufacture of culprits and enemies, a dialogue should be launched. Democracy will win in the long run, and it will depend on the communists themselves whether there will be room for them in such relations, Kucan said.

Agreeing with the assessment that opposition parties so far do not have an economic program different from that of Ante Markovic, Kucan said he does consider it realistic that a party could be formed on that program. It is possible, however, he said, for a coalition to be formed of those who support the program, perhaps even the a [as received] pro-reformist movement on the level of Yugoslavia.

Speaks on Party, Secession

AU1702174290 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] The causes of the split in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] did not arise at the 14th extraordinary congress but much earlier, Milan Kucan said in an election speech in Ljutomer. He repeated that the LCY such as it was no longer existed. Relja Atanasijevic reports:

[Begin Atanasijevic recording] As time passes, the genesis of the causes for the move that the Slovene delegates made by walking out of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress is being further explained. In an election speech in Ljutomer, Kucan noted that the causes for the split in the LCY had arisen much earlier. (?The reason) for this statement will certainly follow.

Current events made Kucan refer to the latest statement by Admiral Petar Simic, president of the LCY in the Yugoslav People's Army. In this connection Kucan said: With the Slovene delegates' walkout from the congress, it became clear that the LCY, such as it was, no longer existed. We have not left the LCY, as Admiral Simic says, but we walked out of the congress.

Kucan added: We, too, had been creating and shaping this joint organization of the Yugoslav Communists, but we are no longer in it. What has been left is in fact an organization of Communists from other republics, which without Slovenia is not Yugoslav.

Of course, Kucan said, this does not mean that those who disagree with the decision, the guidelines, and the program of the present Democratic Reform Party—he had the people of Slovenia in mind—have no legitimate or democratic right to set up a communist party prepared to be a unified part of the LCY on the old foundations. However, nobody in Belgrade or any other part of the country has the right to organize their branches in Slovenia, the recent leader of the Slovene Communists said.

In Ljutomer, Milan Kucan also referred to the possibility of Slovenia's secession. In this connection he repeated his view: The less pleasant Yugoslavia is for its citizens and peoples, and the more the pressure grows that a single option be accepted as Yugoslav, the more the opinion spreads not only among the Slovenes but also among people in other parts of the country that Yugoslavia must be thoroughly reformed.

Can one get out of Yugoslavia, if reform of the state is not possible?, Kucan asked. He replied: The theoretical chance for Slovenia has been created with the adoption of the republican amendments. However, one must bear in mind that this is a political question which as a matter of fact is always resolved by the relationship of forces and the use of arms.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Defense Faces Cuts

LD2202165490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1338 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—The number of people involved in the territorial defense in Bosnia-Hercegovina will be halved in the next five years. This is revealed in today's statement from the session of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which considered and supported the measures and activities regarding the organizational development and the reduction in the number of people involved in the territorial defense in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

It was assessed that by the end of the 1991-1995 period, the reorganization of the territorial defense will be successfully completed, so that the number of people involved will be halved in comparison to the number of people involved in 1986.

In keeping with the consistent application of the concept of the all people's defense and social self-protection, its capability to carry out tasks on defending the country will be heightened at the same time through technical modernization, more modern organization and training, as well as through recruiting well-qualified staff.

The need was underlined for a comprehensive and timely apprehension of the influence the reform of the economic and political system has on the functioning of defense and protection. In connection with this, the Presidency asked competent republican bodies to regularly monitor all trends affecting this area and to initiate on time appropriate changes in the territorial defense system.

Increased Military Authority on Border Proposed

AU2602191190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Feb p 14

[D.P report: "A Kilometer of Military Authority"]

[Text] Yugoslavia, it seems, will in the future not hand down misdemeanor sentences to those foreigners who illegally cross its state borders while escaping prosecution in their own country because of their progressive political views or national, racial, or religious affiliation. This is one of the proposed changes to the law on crossing state borders and movement in the border area, which the Federal Executive Council [FEC] submitted to the Federal Chamber yesterday.

It was also proposed that the area of jurisdiction of the military border units be increased to a kilometer from the border zone (which is otherwise 100 meters wide), where the Army could check identification, search, or detain people who they suspect of illegally crossing the SFRY border.

In an explanation of the proposal for changing and amending the aforementioned law, the FEC dealt with, among other things, the existing norms for transporting arms into and out of the country. It is said that these were adopted more than two decades ago, that they are inflexible and rigid, and that they "harm our interests."

"This relates above all to the desired encouragement of arms sales to foreigners through reducing the formalities regarding taking weapons out of the country and making it easier for hunting weapons and ammunition to be brought into the country temporarily to stimulate tourism by hunters, it is stated in the explanation, with the comment that these provisions should be added to.

A number of the present crossings for border traffic —in line with an international agreements which will be reached with neighboring states—will be turned into border crossings for interstate traffic. The change of form and other technical provisions will better "protect" the stamp that is put in passports from the falsification "that is quite often practiced."

It is envisaged that the regime of maintaining and patrolling the sea coast, rivers, and lakes that are used for small foreign vessels which make deliveries by land will be liberalized. Along with all this, the misdemeanor fines that are contained in this law will be linked to the inflation rate.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Slovene Disagreement

In preparing the proposed change to the law on crossing state borders and movement in the border area, the FEC consulted the "appropriate republican and provincial organs" which endorsed the proposal that the jurisdiction of the military border units be increased—with the exception of the organs of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia.

The reasons cited by the Slovene organs for their disagreement include the one in which they state that security conditions "on the Slovene border" do not require any changes as regards the state border. The FEC proposal was described as "creating space in which it is possible to use firearms for the sake of preventing illegal crossing of the state border." It is said that this proposal "encourages distrust in the existing system of protecting the border" because it excludes "the basic subject of self-protection," that is of the population. Finally, the part of the state border in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia—if the area were to be increased—would also contain a large number of places with numerous inhabitants and widespread economic activity.

Trade Protocol Signed With Albania

LD2702023290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0150 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 27 (TANJUG)—This year Yugoslavia and Albania are to exchange goods and services for 65 million dollars, according to a protocol signed in Tirana over the weekend by Yugoslav Foreign Economic Relations Secretary Djordje Hadzimihajlovic and Albanian Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Altin Ylli.

The conformed trade lists provide for each side to supply the other with 32.5 million dollars worth of goods. The sum includes five million dollars accounted for small border traffic.

Yugoslavia will this year import from Albania primarily chromium ore, concentrated chromium, copper wire, bitumen, citrus fruit, and medicinal herbs.

It will export to Albania predominantly installations (for dairies, for example,), transformer stations, electrical appliances, television sets, steel products, concrete-reinforcing iron, non-ferrous products, textile fibres, and consumer goods.

Deputy Secretary of State Eagleburger Visits

Talks With Markovic on Economics

LD2602212990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1732 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—In Belgrade today, Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic received Lawrence Eagleburger, U.S. deputy secretary of state. During lengthy talks the FEC president stressed that the current year is crucial for the success of reforms in Yugoslavia and that significant results have been achieved so far without any concrete material

assistance from abroad. He also emphasized that in the next stage, however, international assistance will be necessary.

Reference was also made to the need for support for the recovery of the banking system and enterprises in Yugoslavia, as well as to a number of arrangements which Yugoslavia is soon to enter into with international financial institutions. Lawrence Eagleburger stressed that in the United States the initial results in implementing reforms in Yugoslavia have been assessed as impressive and that there is full support for the Yugoslav Government's program. It has however been noted that any greater interest by U.S. business in deals with Yugoslavia is being accompanied by a certain degree of reservation caused by some unfavorable internal developments in Yugoslavia. For its part the U.S. Administration will continue to encourage business circles to step up their investment in the Yugoslav economy through joint investment and other higher forms of economic cooperation. Eagleburger particularly emphasized that there was no change, nor would there be any change, in U.S. support for Yugoslavia's territorial integrity and unity of Yugoslavia. The talks also covered the latest developments in Europe.

Received by Serbian President

LD2602213390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1439 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—Slobodan Milosevic, president of the presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, today in the Serbian Presidency headquarters received Lawrence Eagleburger, the U.S. deputy secretary of state who is visiting Yugoslavia.

During lengthy talks the two sides discussed the most important issues of current economic and political developments in Serbia as well as Serbia's views about further economic development, private capital investment, the development of the market economy, and about political and economic reforms in both Serbia and Yugoslavia.

The talks also covered the latest developments in Kosovo.

The talks in the Serbian Presidency were also attended by Aleksandr Prlja, Serbia's secretary for foreign relations, and Warren Zimmerman, the U.S. ambassador in Belgrade.

Ends Talks, Leaves

LD2702120490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1058 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 27 (TANJUG)—U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger who led a group of U.S. economic experts and businessmen on a two-day visit to Yugoslavia, today left from Belgrade.

After talks yesterday with Yugoslav Premier Ante Markovic, Eagleburger assessed very favourably the Yugoslav program of economic reform and said that Washington will do everything in its power to uphold it. Eagleburger also stressed that the U.S. policy of support to the unity and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia remains unchanged.

Besides Belgrade, Lawrence Eagleburger also visited Warsaw, Budapest and Vienna, within his European tour.

Pregl Concludes Visit to Washington

AU2702145290 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24-25 Feb 90 p 15

[TANJUG report: "Satisfaction and Warning"]

[Text] Washington—Zivko Pregl, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, met in Washington with Secretary of State James Baker and briefed him on the course of Yugoslavia's economic and political reforms. As reported, Baker had highly praised what has been done in Yugoslavia so far.

During the talks, they also raised the question of bilateral technical cooperation. A preliminary agreement on this issue was concluded during Ante Markovic's visit to the United States in October last year. As reported, the Yugoslav side has prepared a detailed program for this cooperation. The U.S. Government must now ensure that in approving it Congress does not substantially lower the level of this cooperation.

According to what Pregl told journalists, after his meeting with Baker, a similar thing was done to the program for scientific cooperation between the two countries. There is fear that the level of scientific cooperation might be reduced despite the fact the U.S. Government has promised that it will do everything possible to prevent this from happening.

Pregl also briefed Baker on the intentions of the Federal Executive Council to change the law on patents because the law contains certain provisions that are in conflict with the Yugoslav Government's commitments. This sphere of protecting intellectual property is the subject of the two countries' continual dialogue.

During his talk with Yugoslav journalists, Pregl said that he was pleased with the visit and the results of the visit and said that it had taken place at the right time—when enough had been done after Ante Markovic's visit, thus enabling the two sides to talk about what has been done, rather than just about plans and promises.

The vice president of the Federal Executive Council said the visit also demonstrated that Yugoslavia has many friends in the United States who have expressed their satisfaction with the good news from Yugoslavia, but who have also warned about the problems that still exist, problems that the Yugoslav Government has also taken note of.

Pregl also said that all the U.S. officials he had talked to welcomed the information on the support within Yugoslavia for a new 4-year term of office for Ante Markovic, something that will ensure that Yugoslavia will be a reliable partner who will continue to pursue the path of reforms.

The Yugoslav delegation also held talks with President Bush's national security adviser, Brent Scowcroft, who was briefed on the steps undertaken to date in the sphere of economy and politics. According to Pregl, Scowcroft is an old friend of Yugoslavia. He used to work in the U.S. Embassy in Yugoslavia and is fairly knowledgeable about the situation in our country, but appreciates additional information. During these talks, the U.S. side fully agreed with what the Yugoslav Government is doing.

Pregl also held talks with IMF officials about a stand-by arrangement for Yugoslavia. The stand-by arrangement now only requires the board of directors' approval before it is finalized. As has been learned, the Yugoslav side raised some objections concerning the speed of the whole procedure considering the fact that Yugoslavia has presented a sound program.

During the talks at the Export-Import Bank, the U.S. state bank which guarantees loans to encourage export of U.S. goods, the two sides underscored good cooperation.

After his visit to Washington, Pregl will be visiting Pittsburgh where he will hold talks with representatives of the Croatian Fraternal Community, the Serbian Cultural Center, and with representatives of the Slovene National Friendly Society [Slovenska narodna podporna jednota].

Presidency on Premier, NAM, Europe

LD1402225890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1822 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, February 14 (TANJUG)—The State Presidency on Wednesday [14 February] joined a number of other Yugoslav political institutions in proposing Prime Minister Ante Markovic as mandatory to form a government for the next four-year period. [sentence as received] Information about the proposal will be sent to the Federal Assembly, which adopts final decision on the matter.

The Presidency also reviewed the country's international position and foreign-political activity, as well as activity in elaborating the commitments adopted at last year Nonaligned Summit in Belgrade which elected Yugoslavia chairman of the movement.

The Presidency adopted the information of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs on Yugoslavia's main directions of activity as chairman of the Nonaligned Movement [NAM]. It stressed the need for an early finding of solutions to major economic, developmental and other problems facing the developing countries. The Presidency believes that the aim could be achieved by creating a favourable climate and conditions for dialogue with the industrialized countries on the opening of so-called economic detente.

The major social-economic changes in Europe and in international relations are conducive to stepping up the process of European integration which will increasingly depend on the system of security and general stability in Europe, the Presidency assessed. Yugoslavia and all its socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces are committed to political pluralism and to a modern market economy as the starting point for joining the integration processes in Europe and in the world.

In the Presidency's assessment, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe is gaining in importance under newly created international conditions. Yugoslavia will continue to make intensive efforts within the conference for the affirmation of common values, such as the independence and territorial integrity of countries, international cooperation based on equality, peace and equal security for all countries and nations, and the right to development as well as for the democratic achievements of modern civilization.

Loncar on Talks With Spanish Counterpart

LD2302220490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1722 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—"We give support to democratization and economic reforms in Yugoslavia and its efforts to become a European, Mediterranean, and safe country" stated Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Ordonez addressing journalists together with Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs. [passage omitted]

Pointing out the identical views which were revealed during the talks on all major issues, Budimir Loncar exphasized the keen interest for and understanding of Minister Fernandez Ordonez for the present phase of economic and political reforms in Yugoslavia whose aim is that our country should become more part of European integrations. Loncar said that he had briefed the Spanish foreign minister in detail about the Yugoslav concept of the consolidation of relations with the EC and about our country's resolve to become a member of the European Council, all with the aim of being included in its integration processes.

Regarding joint projects, Budimir Loncar mentioned the "Mediterranean dimension" of cooperation between Yugoslavia and Spain and stable development in Europe

within the framework of the consolidation of the CSCE process to replace the present bloc balance.

Budimir Loncar also pointed out the Spanish foreign minister's interest in the activity of the Nonaligned Movement, whose guest he was at the Belgrade summit in September.

Replying to the question by a Spanish journalist, the Yugoslav foreign secretary said that the process of German reunification was also discussed during the talks and that it should be carried out in keeping with new developments and stability in Europe. The reunification of Germany, said Loncar, should contribute to positive changes and democratization not only in Europe, but also in the world.

In reply to one of the questions, Minister Fernandez Ordonez said that Spain positively views Yugoslavia's request to become a full member of the European Council and expressed conviction that this, like the democratic changes in Yugoslavia, should happen very soon.

Prior to the press conference, the host and the guest exchanged toasts at a formal luncheon given in honour of minister Ordonez.